PILLS AND POTIONS:

A STUDY OF MEDICAL RETAILING IN CARDIFF BETWEEN 1850 AND 1900

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ABSTRACT

Despite the vast research conducted by historians of Welsh medicine, very little is known about the market for medical retailing in nineteenth century Cardiff. It is generally thought that from the mid-century, the professionalisation of medicine and pharmacy did much to block the trade of quack and irregular medicine vendors. However, as this thesis will discuss, Cardiff's medical retail market between 1850 and 1900 featured a diverse range of professional and non-professional practitioners. From studying a range of sources including newspapers, journals and private papers, the research offered in this thesis will reveal that some of these practitioners thrived and survived in the same market. Quacks, herbalists and other alternative medicine dealers fulfilled a service in Cardiff. They were a complex, popular and an often unpredictable entity in the local market. While their services were in demand by many townspeople, their presence infuriated local authorities for a combination of reasons. The survival of these vendors was partly attributed to the protracted growth of pharmaceutical professionalisation, which as this thesis will illustrate, was slow for a number of reasons. Without any educational facilities for druggists and the inconsistent levels of support offered to pharmaceutical apprentices, the professionalisation of pharmacy in Cardiff was slack. The research conducted in this dissertation will show that the motives of some professionals were very different. While some appeared to have prioritised pharmaceutical care and championed high standards of hygiene in the chemists shop, others were more entrepreneurial and travelled outside of their remit. In the midsts of the slow professionalisation, a number of professionals were able to achieve upward social mobility and exert their influence on society. The pills and remedies prepared by professionals were often heavily advertised in the local press. Their bold and pervasive

advertising techniques were often borrowed and based on fear mongering. Some proprietors utilised testimonies to play on the fears of readers. Others used striking imagery as a way of connecting with the literate and illiterate. This thesis will suggest that it was highly likely that these advertisements influenced significant changes in the form and production of the local newspapers.

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INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century was a period of enormous change for medical professionals and the market for medical retailing. For apothecaries, medical doctors, and druggists and chemists in particular, professionalisation and standardisation became a common goal. Government legislation, and a longing for a professional identity pushed these practices in different directions. From the late eighteenth century, the respectability of surgeons and apothecaries grew as a result of the improvement of educational standards.[1] Disgruntled by the ways in which dispensing druggists were intercepting their 'legitimate business', apothecaries took action and formed an association.[2] The name of the organisation suggests that it was formed with drug vendors in mind. Established in 1794, The General Pharmaceutical Association was led by medical men who aspired to thwart dispensing druggists and 'protect the monopoly of dispensing'.[3] However, the organisation proved 'short-lived' and 'almost totally ineffective'. Despite this, some claim that the Association's establishment 'marked the beginning of the movement for medical reform'.[4] The 1815 Apothecaries Act gave the Society of Apothecaries control over the market for medical retail. From the Act, the Society was granted the power to

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[1] For some details of the growth of the medical professions see Kyle Louden and Irvine Louden, *Medical Care and the General Practitioner, 1750-1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Roger French and Andrew Wear, *British Medicine in an Age of Reform* (London: Routledge, 2005); Louise Hill Curth, *From Physick to Pharmacology: Five Hundred Years of British Drug Retailing* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2006).

[2] Jon Merrillis and Jonathan Fisher, *Pharmacy Law and Practice* (London: Academic Press, 2013), p. 363.

[3] Louden and Louden, *Medical Care and the General Practitioner*, p.136.

[4] John Keown, *Abortion, Doctors and the Law: Some Aspects of the Legal Regulation of Abortion in England from 1803 to 1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 22.

license drug dispensers in order to 'curtail irregular practice'. The legislation further stipulated that apothecaries could dispense medicines and give medical guidance to the public.[5] However, the group's concerns did not lie with its power as a licensing authority, but 'more with its role as a City trading company'.[6] As the times changed, dispensing and medical retailing continued to evolve, and as a result of the 'undercutting of the counter trade' by druggists and chemists, the apothecaries were 'absorbed into the category of surgeon'.[7]

The mid-nineteenth century proved to be a period of seismic change for medical physicians. A real 'watershed in the development of a more unified profession' came in 1858, when the Medical Registration Act was passed.[8] The Act initiated the recognition of a 'distinct medical profession'[9] in the United Kingdom, and it has been argued that it laid the foundations of the 'general structure' of today's medical profession. A governing body in the form of the General Medical Council was formed, and given jurisdiction over the education and licenses given to doctors.[10] While the 1858 Act gave legal recognition to trained physicians, it also signalled the end of the 'considerable

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[5] McWhinney, *A Textbook of Family Medicine*, p. 5.

[6] French and Wear, *British Medicine in an Age of Reform*, p. 50.

[7] Hilary Marland, ''The Doctor's Shop': The Rise of Druggist and Chemist in Nineteenth-century Manufacturing Districts' from Louise Hill Curth, *From Physick to Pharmacology: Five Hundred Years of British Drug Retailing* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing), p. 82.

[8] Philip Swan, Medical Provision in the Nineteenth Century: An Overview, Occasional Papers in History, University of Lincoln, 3, (1994), p. 1.

[9] Christopher Lawrence, *Medicine in the Making of Modern Britain*, 1700-1920 (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 1956.

[10] Virginia Berridge, 'Health and Medicine', from F. M. L. Thompson (ed), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 179.

blurring' between orthodox and unorthodox practitioners.[11] However, many medical professionals were dissatisfied with the Act's failure to outlaw unlicensed practice - something which was stressed in the Act's initial draft. Indeed, the medical professionals who made 'strenuous efforts' to make irregular practice a legal violation were shut out.[12] Quacks, pill pedlars and herbalists, whom in particular were recognised members of the 'self-conscious radical fringe', remained free to roam, and dispense in the market for medical retail.[13]

The year 1841, which is particularly important in relation to this study, saw the establishment of the organisation that strove to bring respect to what would become the pharmaceutical profession. The Pharmaceutical Society's aspirations to govern, educate and professionalise drug vendors was made clear from the very beginning. Across the country, schools of pharmacy were established in London, Edinburgh, Norwich, Liverpool, Bath and Bristol. The Society's minor and major examinations were set up with the intention of promoting pharmacy apprentices into chemists and druggists, and later pharmaceutical chemists. Within thirty years of the Society's establishment, many pharmaceutical chemists, chemists and druggists obtained professional status that was solidified through amendments of previous legislation. Legislative breakthroughs such as the 1868 Pharmacy Act gave professionals not only legal recognition, but it also restricted the titles of pharmaceutical chemist, chemist and druggist to those who passed exams under the invigilation of the Society. The 1868 Act was an amended version of

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[11] Josep Lluis Vilar and Steven Cherry (eds), *Health and Medicine in Rural Europe (1850-1945)* (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2005), p. 172.

[12] Barbara Griggs, *Green Pharmacy, A History of Herbal Medicine* (London: Jill Norman and Hobhouse, 1981), p. 240.

[13] Berridge, 'Health and Medicine', Thompson (ed), *Cambridge Social History of Britain*, p. 188.

the 1852 Pharmacy Act, which granted the power to hold examinations. However, such professional titles were not restricted in the 1852 act, meaning many still practiced without the necessary training.[14] The Act of 1868 has been recognised by historians as a piece of legislation that 'took the first step towards a more formal medical regulatory regime for the trade in medicine.'[15] Moreover, the Act underlined the Society's jurisdiction over the sale of poisonous substances, and also gave the organisation the power to add dangerous substances on to a list created by the legislation.[16] The 1868 Pharmacy Act installed a sense of 'power and influence' in to the Society.[17] In the years after 1868, a number of companies challenged the Society's control over the monopoly of the market, and fought the stipulations made in the Pharmacy Act. Despite the quarrelling over the controls of monopoly, drug vendors were still legally required to be examined before they could dispense medicines.

The establishment of the Pharmaceutical Society has been recognised as 'a landmark in the process of professionalisation within pharmacy'.[18] The Society's efforts have been cited in the research of Hilary Marland, who maintains the argument that the 'development of uniform standards of training and examination', were crucial aspects that helped chemists and druggists gain recognition as 'one of the few medical groups to

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[14] Gordon E. Appelbe and Joy Wingfield, *Dale Appelbe's Pharmacy and Medicines Law*, Tenth Ed., (London: Routledge, 2013), p. xx.

[15] J. W. Gerritsen, *The Control of Fuddle and Flash: A Sociological History of the Regulation of Alcohol and Opiates* (Boston: Brill, 2000), p. 128.

[16] Gordon E. Appelbe, Joy Wingfield, (eds), *Dale and Appelbe's Pharmacy and Medicines Law* (London: Pharmaceutical Press, 2013), p. xx.

[17] Mandy Bentham, *The Politics of Drug Control* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), p. 67.

[18] Chantal Stebbings, *Tax, Medicines and the Law: From Quackery to Pharmacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 132.

emerge' in Victorian Britain.[19] In his research, J. K. Crellin expressed his understanding of professionalism, and identified the Society's success in bringing together drug vendors to create a 'recognised professional body'. Crellin's research also identifies some of the 'extremely successful educational activities' that were at the 'forefront of the Society's endeavours'. Crellin's paper argues that it was the 'strong core' of the organisation that enhanced the professional image of pharmacy through 'acquiring specialist knowledge' and 'creating first class establishments', which furthermore 'underlined pharmacy's important function in society'.[20] Indeed, other studies have gone further in arguing the Society's influence on professionalism. Holloway's *Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain* recognises the body's impact on the proliferation of other professions. According to Holloway, the Society was 'one of the founding fathers of modern professionalism' that demonstrated how to properly 'nurture a professional body'. The Society's foundation and exhibition of professionalism, Holloway argued, influenced the emergence of a 'steady stream' of professions which included 'veterinary surgeons (1844), private schoolmasters (1849), accountants (1880), chartered surveyors (1881), actuaries (1884), chemists (1885), patent agents (1891) and librarians (1898)'. Holloway's work credits the Society as 'one of the pioneers in establishing a pattern of development' that other professions later 'adapted to their own needs'.[21] Indeed, this theme has been developed further in other pharmacy-based studies across the globe. Gordon Boyce's informative study shows how the Australasian branch

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[19] Marland, ''The Doctor's Shop' from Hill Curth, *From Physick to Pharmacology: Five Hundred Years of British Drug Retailing*, p. 82.

[20] J. K. Crellin, 'The Growth of Professionalism in Nineteenth-Century British Pharmacy', *Medical History*, 11 (1967), 217-218.

[21] Sydney W. F. Holloway, *Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, 1841-1991* (London: The Pharmaceutical Press, 1991), p. 143.

of the Society created a similar network in which it could also 'mobilise members' information, contacts and knowledge' in order to 'adjust its external communication lines to constrain other professions' to create markets of their own through professionalisation. Boyce's work on the Pharmaceutical Society of Australasia studied the organisation's influence of professionalism, and how the group 'enhanced and transmitted the knowledge of routines, statutory information and expertise needed to safeguard quality standards'.[22]

The impact of legislation on the pharmacy profession has caught the attention of a number of studies. In Virginia Berridge's discussion of health and medicine, she underlined the importance of the 1868 Pharmacy Act, noting that its enforcement of a 'regulated education system' set an example to other growing professions. Berridge's research identified the act as a triumph for pharmacy which 'set up a tighter form of professional organisation than had the 1858 act for doctors'.[23] Sydney Holloway's publication on the Pharmaceutical Society dedicates a whole chapter to the 1868 Act. While Holloway identifies the power it gave the Pharmaceutical Society in becoming the 'one and only representative of the British drug trade', he also recognises the immediate aftermath as a period in which some chemists and druggists struggled to maintain a hold on the market for retailing medicines.[24] Roy Porter's works on quackery identified the nineteenth century as a period in which the 'manufactured competition'

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[22] Gordon Boyce, 'A Professional Association as Network and Communicating Node: The Pharmaceutical Society of Australasia, 1857-1918', *Australian Economic History Review*, 39, 3 (1999), 260.

[23] Virginia Berridge, 'Health and Medicine, from F. M. L. Thompson (ed), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 181.

[24] Holloway, *Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain*, p. 235.

rose to ‘block off possible avenues of development’ and thwart quackery. Porter’s research shows that quacks were said to have ‘felt the pinch’ as a result of the passing of the legislation.[25] With the professionalisation process underway, it was to be expected that quackery and unqualified dispensing druggists would begin to fall between the cracks of the disintegrating fringe. However, the works historians such as Owen Davies has recognised some of the issues that challenged professionalisation. Davies’ studies have focussed on the popular services of cunning folk and alternative drug dispensers, who were popular due to the ‘largely ineffective’ nature of regular and orthodox medicine.[26] While Crellin praises the educational pursuits which stimulated professionalisation, he also points out an issue which simultaneously damaged the process. In his works, Crellin recognised ‘counter prescribing’ from ‘uneducated chemists’ as a threat to the professional growth of pharmacy.[27]

Crucially, these studies have nurtured our general understanding of the ‘medical marketplace’. What’s more is that these studies, along with many others, have allowed historians to better understand the ‘medical marketplace’ model, and how it can be approached, interpreted and contextualised. To describe *Pills and Potions* as a study of Cardiff’s Victorian medical marketplace would be inaccurate. As such, a study of Cardiff’s ‘medical marketplace’ would require a far greater word count than the limited amount for a master’s thesis.

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[25] Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England 1660-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 234.

[26] Owen Davies, ‘Cunning-Folk in the Medical Market-Place During the Nineteenth Century’, *Medical History*, 43, 1 (1999), 73.

[27] Crellin, ‘The Growth of Professionalism in Nineteenth-Century British Pharmacy’, 217

The concept of the 'medical marketplace' has exercised the skills of many historians, who have analysed the concept in numerous studies. In their contribution to the topic of medical history, Mark Jenner and Patrick Wallis have shown that the term 'medical marketplace' has been applied to an 'ever-wider range of settings' and employed 'by an ever-widening variety of historians', which, over time, has made its very definition 'vague to the point of confusion'. The eleven essays featured in their publication, *Medicine and the Market in England at its Colonies* explores a number of different themes, and discusses the 'nature of medical provision and its economic, institutional, cultural and political contexts'. The selection of essays within this work reminds us that there were many markets which intersected one another, which furthermore quashes the notion that only one 'marketplace' existed. Indeed, Jenner and Wallis' contribution 'develops and refines fundamental concepts and arguments associated with our understanding of medicine and the market in England between 1450 and 1850'.[28] Andrew Weir has also discussed the medical marketplace model at length. His study, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine*, argues that the concept was influenced heavily by the time in which it was conceived. The mid-1980s witnessed the conception of the medical marketplace model, which Andrew Weir argues, was influenced by the politics of the time. It was the 'ruthless, free market ideology' spearheaded by the likes of Reagan and Thatcher who shaped the 'over emphasis' of the model. As such, the 'economic imperatives' became a major focus and the 'cultural forces that shaped medicine' were 'discounted'. Thus, Weir argues the model was 'inappropriate for understanding lay medicine' as it 'took attention away from the practical aspects of medicine' and 'downplayed how practitioners perceived disease,

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[28] Mark Jenner and Patrick Wallis, *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c.1450-c.1850* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 2.

and how they treated it'.[29] More recent contributions have reflected on the model, and how it has stood against time. Claire Jones' 2015 study, *The Medical Trade Catalogue in Britain, 1870-1914*, explains how the 'outdated' concept has the ability to cause 'confusion between metaphorical and physical marketplaces'.[30]

Generally, the topic of medical history is developing, and in recent times a number of broad studies on the history of medicine in Britain and Europe have surfaced to demonstrate exactly how diverse the 'medical marketplace' was. Keir Waddington's *Introduction to the Social History of Medicine* focuses on Europe after 1500 and discusses a wide range of topics from disease and death, to quackery and commercial medicines, to professionalisation and the adoption of scientific techniques. In his discussion of the market for commercial medicine after 1800, Waddington tackles the 'misleading implication' that modern medicine toppled quackery early on in the century. In approaching this topic, Waddington asserts that quacks simply took on another form and ventured into the market for alternative medicines. Waddington's work also demonstrates that across the continent, some quacks were even said to have commercialised and entered the proprietary medicine market.[31] Other broad works, such as Mary Lindemann's *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, focuses largely on the experiences of the patient and revises the ways in which alternative and folklore treatments have been perceived by historians. Using a number of sources and citing examples from medical incidents, Lindemann discusses a number of topics including

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[29] Andrew Weir, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 29.

[30] Claire L. Jones, *The Medical Trade Catalogue in Britain, 1870-1914* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 8.

[31] Keir Waddington, *An Introduction to the Social History of Medicine: Europe Since 1500* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 93.

the role of women in ‘day-to-day healing’, the understanding of health and illness, and the perceptions and functionality of the early modern hospital as a place of ‘care not cure’.[32]

While it is important to acknowledge the various works on the history of medicine in Britain and Europe, it is crucial that this thesis, being a Welsh one, should be located within the Welsh medical historiography. The topic of medical history in Wales has not yet been developed to its full potential. With that said, a number of studies have surfaced to pave the way in building a wider understanding of the topic. John Cule’s *Wales and Medicine* offers a diverse selection of twenty-three essays that provide a basis for a medical history of the nation. The efforts contributed to this history of Wales are indeed diverse. Contributions from the likes of A.Trevor Jones examine the development of medical institutions in Cardiff, and details the struggles of the Cardiff Infirmary, which up until the mid-1880s struggled to ‘keep up with the demands’ of the growing population. W. Gerralt Harries’ essay focuses on the life of Bened Feddyg; a medieval practitioner from Denbighshire. Harries’ contribution examines Feddyg’s manuscripts, and what they tell us about his work. Harries’ study shows that Bened Feddyg gathered vast amounts of information from older sources, which were appreciated as ‘priceless heritage’ that was inherited from the ‘wisdom of the ancients’. Harries’ essay suggests that Feddyg’s manuscripts served as a reflection of a practitioner who displayed little desire for change. Feddyg was, in ‘all probability, a fairly typical representative of the medical practitioners of rural Wales in the early sixteenth

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[32] Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 121.

century'.[33] Despite the varied nature of the studies featured in *Wales and Medicine*, they nevertheless provide Welsh medical historians with foundations to build from.

In the first two decades of the twenty-first century, a number of scholars have offered contributions to the Welsh medical historiography. One scholar, T. G. Davies, has published numerous journal articles in *Morgannwg*. In 2001, Davies offered *'And Where Will She Find a Doctor?': Incidents in the History of Medicine in Gower During the Nineteenth Century*, which focuses on the provision of medical aid and discusses the first doctors to set up practice in Gower. Davies' contribution also reflects upon the public attitudes towards sanitation and hygiene, and shows that the formation of a local sanitary authority in 1872 did much to spread the awareness of poor sanitation as a health hazard.[34] In 2013, Davies published a journal focusing on the relationships between legal and medical practice in Glamorgan. From analysing cases of unexplained deaths, Davies' research shows that the relationships between the coroners' courts and other courts were 'not always cordial'. Using examples from primary sources, Davies' 2013 contribution also discusses the legal complications caused by suicide and the complications surrounding property inheritance.[35]

Other Welsh studies include Anne Borsay's *Medicine in Wales*, which like Cule's publication, is made up of a collection of small studies that are 'compiled to illustrate the growing corpus of research-based material'. The 'deliberately diverse'

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[33] W. Gerralt Harries, 'Bened Feddyg: A Welsh Medical Practitioner in the Late Medieval Period' from John Cule (ed), *Wales and Medicine* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1975), p. 178.

[34] T. G. Davies ''And Where Shall She Find a Doctor?': Incidents in the History of Medicine in Gower During the Nineteenth Century' from *Morgannwg*, Vol XLV, (2001), 34.

[35] T. G. Davies, 'To Take Stock of the Past': Some Aspects of the History of Medicine in Neath From *Morgannwg* Vol LVII, (2013), 9.

Medicine in Wales features studies of medical provisions in the south Wales coal field, sanitation and public health, and nursing and the development of medical education. While the study contributes greatly to our understanding of health and medicine across Welsh history, it also goes further in addressing topics that were largely ignored beforehand. To cite an example, Pamela Michael's study of suicide between 1832 and 1914.[36] As Alun Withey reminds us in his recent contribution, early modern Wales was not exactly 'cut off' from the medical knowledge available in the 'wider world'. Reflecting on the reception of medical information, Withey's 2013 study, *Physick and the Family: Health, Medicine and Care in Wales*, argues against the notion of Wales being 'insular and remote' and shows that medical information was received freely, and was utilised more than effectively.[37] Indeed, these studies have done much to raise the awareness of the Welsh medical historiography. These works have shed light on the history of both the practitioner and the patient in Wales, which has given us a far richer understanding of the nation's medical and social history. While these works do much to improve our understanding, there are still areas of the Welsh medical historiography that must be further explored. As of present, there is a lack of existing work on pharmaceutical professionalisation in Wales, and how alternative and quack medicine remained popular long in to the nineteenth century.

This dissertation will examine the market for medical retailing in Cardiff between 1850 and 1900. It will reveal how the market was made up of a diverse mixture of medicine vendors who thrived and survived under different circumstances. The

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[36] Anne Borsay, *Medicine in Wales c.1800-2000, Public Service or Private Commodity?* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003).

[37] Alun Withey, *Physick and the Family: Health, Medicine and Care in Wales, 1600-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 86.

second half of the nineteenth century witnessed legislative breakthroughs that stimulated the professionalisation of medicine, which, as we might expect, marginalised vendors of quack and alternative remedies. However, *Pills and Potions* will demonstrate that irregular medicine vendors coexisted with professional chemists and druggists in the town's medical retail market. While this thesis will demonstrate the popularity and persistence of quack and alternative medicine, it will also seek to analyse the combination of factors which hampered pharmaceutical professionalisation in Cardiff. In this thesis, discussion will also focus on medical advertising in the local newspaper press. As well as analysing the range of techniques adopted to market proprietary medicines, this dissertation will examine to what extent medical advertisements influenced changes in the form and production of the local newspaper.

Cardiff was chosen as the location of this study for a number of reasons. The town witnessed social and economic developments which created opportunities for those involved in medical retailing. The nineteenth century saw the second Marquess of Bute spearhead immense change in Cardiff, starting with the construction of the dock from 1839.[38] Bute's vision sent Cardiff on the path to modernization, and with the developments of the coal industry and the emergence of the docklands and railways, Cardiff 'outpaced rivals Swansea and Newport'.[39] As Cardiff's industrial powerhouse went from strength to strength, the town eclipsed Merthyr to become, 'in all but name', the Welsh capital.[40] In the eyes of many, Cardiff was recognised as a land of

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[38] Geraint H. Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 178.

[39] Jack Simmons, 'Chapter 12, The Power of the Railway', from Harold James Dyos and Michael Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities, Volume 1* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 295.

[40] ibid., p. 183.

opportunity. The town's industries attracted flocks of hopefuls who were in search of work. Amongst those competing in the job market were many Irishmen, who by 1841 made up over ten percent of Cardiff's population.[41] As the industries expanded, so did the population, and by 1891 over 120,000 people were living in the town.[42]

The remarkable modernization of Cardiff also attracted waves of 'thrusting bourgeoisie', made up of 'bankers, merchants and shippers' who challenged for the control of local monopoly.[43] Among the waves of professionals who settled in Cardiff were small a number of chemists and druggists. One of which, John Munday, became a well-known figure in the local community and climbed up the social ranks to assert himself on the new bourgeois elite. As the times changed, the nation's industrial populace became more 'urbanised and affluent' than before. With the rise in real wages, everyday people started to spend their money in different ways. It has been argued that the spending habits of ordinary people transformed the national 'consumption patterns'.[44] Some have even argued that the consumer power generated in this period 'fuelled the rise of the chemists and druggists' like John Munday.[45] As well as appearing more financially stable, and more consumeristic, ordinary people became far more conscious of their health which 'stimulated the demand' for 'pre packed branded

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[41] Paul O'Leary, *Irish Migrants in Modern Wales*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), p. 14.

[42] Brinley Thomas, 'The Growth of the Population', from James Frederick Rees, *The Cardiff Region - A Survey* (Caridff: University of Wales Press, 1960), p.111.

[43] Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales*, p. 183.

[44] Sydney W. F. Holloway, *Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, 1841-1991* (London: The Pharmaceutical Press, 1991), p. 308: Susie L. Stenibach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 107.

[45] Roy Porter, *Drugs and Narcotics in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 82.

medicines'.[46] As this research will demonstrate, there was also a demand for various forms of alternative medicine during this period. The result of this research not only shows that quack and irregular medicine vendors traded in Cardiff, but it shows that there was a demand for such medicines. While some herbalists and quack vendors made names for themselves in Cardiff, other came and went. Indeed, this thesis will demonstrate that like many of the ambitious merchants, some quack and irregular medicine vendors caught a whiff of the gold rush given off by Cardiff's social and economic developments.

Within the extraordinary social and economic developments was the growth of the local newspaper press. In 1845, the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* went to print for the first time, and later townspeople were introduced to the *Cardiff Times* in 1857 and the *Western Mail* in 1869.[47] By the time the *Western Mail* came around, the local newspaper became a vehicle that carried information at a much faster pace than the 'plodding feet of the parish constables' and the other 'primitive methods of communication' that came before it.[48] With the foundation of numerous local newspapers, ordinary people were supplied with the news of the time. Additionally, local newspapers supplied the public with chronological information and notices of events that were related to their everyday lives. While the local papers offered important information to townspeople, they also offered promotional opportunities to local professionals, tradesman, and merchants and entrepreneurs.

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[46] Chantal Stebbings, *Tax, Medicines and the Law* (Cambridge, University of Cambridge Press, 2017), p. 38.

[47] O'Leary, *Claiming the Streets*, p. 36.

[48] Davies, *Hope and Heartbreak*, p. 76.

Cardiff was also chosen as the base of this research because of the town's flawed medical landscape. While Cardiff represents an area undergoing social and economic developments, it also represents a town facing a number of challenges relating to public health and the provision of medical aid. In the years following the Public Health Act of 1848, the quality of life in the town did not improve. Cardiff's authorities did little to make an immediate impact on the poor living conditions and unsatisfactory sanitation.[49] Throughout the mid century matters were made worse when several outbreaks of disease, including cholera, 'raged with severity' through Cardiff and claimed the lives of many.[50] Although conditions are said to have improved from the 1870s, the town frequently witnessed minor outbreaks of disease towards the end of the century.[51]

Up until the mid-1880s medical provisions in Cardiff were somewhat thin of the ground. Hospitals like the 'Old' Infirmary were deemed too small by the early-1880s - even with its various additions and extensions. With only twenty beds and some 'very primitive utilities', the Infirmary struggled to 'keep pace with the demands' of a population that was expanding at break-neck speed. Before the end of the century, time had to be called on the 'grossly overcrowded' Infirmary. Not only was the site frequently overcrowded, but it was often 'subject to the then inevitable outbreaks of communicable disease'.[52] A cholera visitation in 1884 caused much stress in the community, and in response to the outbreak, the Borough of Cardiff established a

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[49] Dic Mortimer, *Cardiff: The Biography* (Stroud: Amberley, 2014), p. 30.

[50] William Williams, *A Sanitary Survey of Glamorgan* (Cardiff: Daniel Owen and Company Limited, 1895), p. 19.

[51] Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales*, p. 199.

[52] A. Trevor Jones, 'The New Medical Centre and the Development of Medical Education in Wales', from John Cule (ed), *Wales and Medicine* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1975), p. 24.

cholera hospital on Flat Holm Island. Although the land leased from the Third Marquess of Bute was utilised mainly for its isolation.[53] Later in 1895, Lansdowne Hospital was built to provide further care to those suffering from contagious diseases. Indeed, over a short space of time, some of Cardiff's medical facilities became outdated and outpaced by the demands of the expanding populace. To facilitate the growing population, a number of facilities had to be built, and later extended. While this may not have been totally uncommon, it ought to be recognised that south Wales, and Cardiff for that matter struggled across the century to meet demands. South Wales stood out for much of the century as an area that was 'notorious in British hospital administration for its dearth of bed provision'.[54]

What is also known about Victorian Cardiff is that it stood out as an area that had no institutions which educated and trained aspiring medical physicians. It is indeed worth noting that in general, medical education in Wales lagged behind in comparison to the progress shown in England, Scotland and Ireland. Reflecting on the development of medical education, Alun Roberts argued that the 'wheels of progress turned rather more slowly in Wales'.[55] As such, the foundation of the Welsh National School of Medicine in 1893 came some time after the schools established in industrial areas like Sheffield (1827), Bristol and Birmingham (1828), Leeds (1830), Liverpool (1834) and

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[53] John Morgan Guy, 'Cardiff and the Bubonic Plague', *Morgannwg*, Vol. LVIII, (2014), 5.

[54] Neil Evans, 'Urbanisation and Social Welfare in Wales, Scotland and Ireland' from Steven King and John Stewart (eds), *Welfare Peripheries: The Development of Welfare States in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Europe* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), p. 184.

[55] Alun Roberts, *The Welsh National School of Medicine: The Cardiff Years, 1893-1931* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), p. 7.

Manchester (1874).[56] From 1852, trained physicians were brought together from 'widely scattered areas' to form the South Wales Branch of the British Medical Association. Although this was recognised as a 'major step forward in the training of doctors', it would be over 40 years before a Welsh medical school was formed.[57] With this in mind, it ought to be stressed that unless they trained elsewhere, or travelled in to Wales from beyond from the borders, physicians with medical school educations were few and far between.

Without the sufficient medical facilities to turn to, it might be expected that townspeople could have found help in the medical aid provided through charity and philanthropy. However, in comparison to the 'old-established merchant cities' like London, Glasgow and Dublin, the 'traditions of middle-class benevolence' were 'relatively lacking in Cardiff'. In other areas of the country, many wealthy coal and iron owners supplied medical aid to the poor. However, things were different in Cardiff as many of industrial money men lived outside of the town. According to Neil Evans, the 'physical separation of classes took its toll on social arrangements' and 'there were, therefore, spatial issues, related to class, in philanthropy'.[58] As a last resort, those in dire need of medical assistance could have turned to the local workhouse. However, entrance to the Cardiff Union Workhouse was avoided by many who desired medical attention. The Canton Workhouse, as it was known, was 'deliberately designed for humiliation, punishment and cruelty'. Instead of being treated as a pauper, many recognised 'gaol,

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[56] Edward Mansfield Brockbank, *The Foundation of Provincial Medical Education in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1936). 76.

[57] T. G. Davies, 'To Take Stock of the Past': Some Aspects of the History of Medicine in Neath, *Morgannwg* Vol LX, (2016), 9.

[58] Evans, 'Urbanisation and Social Welfare in Wales, Scotland and Ireland' from King and Stewart (eds), *Welfare Peripheries*, p. 186.

homelessness and even starvation as preferable options'.[59] The modernization of professional medicine and the general improvements in medical provisions were, for much of the nineteenth century, lagging in Cardiff. With the lack of aid supplied through philanthropy and a popular reluctance to enter the workhouse, many townspeople were forced to shop the medical retail market in search of cures for their ailments. As alluded to in this research, there were a combination of defects with the town's medical landscape that sets it apart from other towns and cities. Indeed, a case study of Cardiff offers medical and social historians more than just an insight into a vastly developing town. It offers additional insight into how ordinary people found treatments for their ailments at a time when orthodox medical provisions and facilities were developing. With this information in-mind, medical historians would naturally question where townspeople accessed medical aid, especially seeing as some of the more common methods of provision were either under-developed or comparatively lacking.

The year 1850 was chosen as the start date of this thesis for a number of reasons. By this year, the professionalisation of pharmacy was underway across much of the country. Soon after this point in time, the passing of the 1852 and 1868 Pharmacy Acts helped elucidate the function of chemists and druggists. The Acts legally recognised pharmaceutical professionals and distinguished them from quack and alternative medicine vendors.[60] It is generally thought that the second half of the century was a time when quack vendors were marginalised by the professionalisation of medicine and pharmacy. As alluded to in this research, Porter's study of quackery in England argues that the quacks' 'avenues of development' were blocked by professionalisation from the

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[59] Dic Mortimer, *Cardiff: The Biography* (Stroud: Amberly Publishing), p. 121.

[60] Vilar and Cherry (eds), *Health and Medicine in Rural Europe*, p. 172.

mid-nineteenth century.[61] Porter's *Health for Sale* does not venture beyond 1850, which somewhat inspired this thesis to carry on from that point. One of the objectives of this study is to commence from 1850, but look at the medical retail market in a Welsh context. With the year 1850 in mind, *Pills and Potions* was set on course to explore the popularity of quack and alternative medicine during the years of professionalisation.

This thesis focuses on the years spanning 1850 to 1900 for reasons related to the expansion of the newspaper press. In the years leading up to 1850, only one newspaper was based in Cardiff. First printed in 1845, the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* succeeded the *Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, which lasted from 1832 to 1843. The second half of the century saw a vast expansion in the newspaper press, and by 1900, a number of newspaper titles were established. By the end of the period in question, the *Western Mail*, *South Wales Daily News*, *Cardiff Times* and the *South Wales Echo* all became well known local papers. With medicine advertising being one of the key themes of this study, it was crucial to select a time frame within which there were many newspapers in circulation. The expansion of the press, and the survival of these titles, has offered this thesis a wealth of sources to work with.

The year 1900 was chosen as the end date of this dissertation for reasons related to pharmaceutical professionalisation in Cardiff. The decades spanning 1850 to 1900 saw professionalisation develop at a slow rate in the town. One of the reasons for this slow development was the lack of unity between local chemists and druggists. It may be suggested that if these vendors were more organised and united, they could have galvanised those around them and promoted professionalisation. In their unity they could have worked together to build a more positive future for chemists and druggists.

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[61] Roy Porter, *Health For Sale: Quackery in England, 1660-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 234.

However, 1900 seems to be the year in which chemists and druggists finally came together to form a local society in Cardiff. Indeed, this year seems to have been a turning point for professional pharmacy in the area. By 1902, members of the local society were vocal in their aims to establish a better future for professional pharmacy. In this year, Cardiff pharmacists were reported to have 'made efforts to secure the establishment of a pharmacy class at Cardiff University College'.[62] The extent to which they succeeded in their efforts is beyond the scope of this thesis. What is known, however, as that the Cardiff School of Pharmacy was established later sometime later in 1919.

This dissertation will use numerous sources, from newspapers and journals, to trade directories, and the surviving papers of chemists and druggists. Among the publications featured in this thesis are *The Cardiff Times*, *The Evening Express*, *The South Wales Daily News*, *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, *The South Wales Daily Post* and the *Western Mail*. The diverse nature of these sources has allowed this thesis to closely examine several aspects of the market for medical retailing. While some newspapers have offered crucial information about the local market for press advertising, others have offered insight into the ways in which local authorities dealt with quacks. Indeed, these newspapers may have had their political affiliations, but the ways in which they reported quackery were identical. As the first chapter will demonstrate, many of these papers condemned quackery as a public nuisance. More importantly, the content published in the newspapers reveal vital information about the relationships between Cardiff's authorities and the quack medicine vendors. The accounts published in the newspapers have further revealed editors intentions to shape

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[62] *Pharmaceutical Society and Transactions*, Series IV, Vol LXVIII, 1902-03, p. 113.

popular opinion. Indeed, these sources have allowed this study to delve in to the history of Cardiff and discover how certain chemists and druggists made their mark on society. The insightful nature of the news and accounts recorded in the local papers have shed light on the conflicts between those involved in the market for medical retailing. Without these sources, this study would not have been able to properly illustrate how promotional methods were used and reworked.

While it is important to recognise newspapers as vital primary sources, it is equally important to recognise the number of studies that have used them to further illustrate the development of advertising. Numerous studies have examined the nature of marketing and advertising in the newspaper press, and analysed how medicine promotions were utilised enter the public imagination. This thesis will call upon numerous studies on the history of advertising. The works of Roy Church have examined the marketing techniques adopted by medicine proprietors, and how they were used to provoke the thoughts of the consumer. His research has shown that the use of testimonies from respectable individuals did much to boost the appeal of proprietary medicines.[63] Roy Porter's *Disease, Medicine and Society in England* has analysed some of the other common, successful marketing techniques adopted by advertisers, such as the promotion of money-back-guarantees and large, hyperbolic promises.[64] Thomas Richards' studies have paid particular attention to the scare tactics adopted by advertisers. According to Richards, the adoption of certain methods were used deliberately to influence hypochondria, and to remind readers of how much could 'go

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[63] Roy Church 'Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth Century Britain: Reinterpretations', *Economic History Review*, 54, 4 (2000), 633.

[64] Roy Porter, *Disease, Medicine and Society in England, 1550-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 42.

wrong' with their bodies.[65] Other studies, such as Gillian Dyer's *Advertising as Communication,* has approached the history of advertising from the perspective of the newspaper editor, and strives to develop a greater understanding of the changing attitudes towards marketing in the nineteenth century. Dyer has demonstrated that in the nineteenth century, many newspaper editors were not too fond of publishing advertisements. Dyer's study shows that some editors refused to free up space for advertisements altogether. According to Dyer, some editors feared that advertisements would devalue their newspapers, and as a result, many were 'reluctant to open their papers' to promotions that would 'disrupt the design of the pages'.[66]

Trade directories have been particularly useful to this study as they have provided an insight in to the number of businesses held by chemists and druggists, which has further allowed the study to measure the success of certain chemists and druggists. Despite this extremely useful feature, there are also drawbacks to these sources. Trade directories did not always list all businesses in the area, and although trade directories categorised pharmaceutical chemists, they did not classify the professionalised chemists and druggists from the non-professionalised. Some of the materials presented in this thesis were accessed at Glamorgan Archives, including Robert Drane's papers. Drane's records provide details of the contemporary approach to dispensing, whilst also showing how some professionals practised with care and responsibility. *The Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions* provided statistics of exam attendances, which helped this study to measure the growth of pharmaceutical professionalisation in Cardiff. Without this source, this thesis could not have compared

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[65] Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (California: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 187.

[66] Gillian Dyer, *Advertising as Communication* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 24.

Cardiff's professional growth with other areas. However, one of the drawbacks of this source was that it did not name the individuals who sat the exams. Nor did this source consistently provide information on the movements of individuals within the Cardiff profession.

A number of themes will be explored throughout the body of this thesis. Quackery and alternative medicine will be the key theme of the first chapter. Using a number of sources, chapter one will examine the popularity of quack and alternative medicine in Cardiff. It will discuss the custom that quack and irregular medicine attracted, and how that custom very often caused disorder and disruption in the local market place. As well as attracting attention from townspeople, many irregular medicine vendors drew unwanted attention from the town authorities. As chapter one will demonstrate, the outlandish, performance-driven marketing techniques adopted by quack medicine vendors incensed local authorities. The remedies dispensed by quack vendors were also questioned by the establishment, who regularly attempted to prove the supposed insincerity of the quacks. The first chapter will demonstrate the unpredictability of quack and alternative vendors. The incidents referred to in the chapter will show that while some were caught peddling drugs under bogus patents and false titles, others were well-regarded for their philanthropic deeds and high quality service. Above all, the first chapter will serve as a reminder of how these perseverant, unorthodox medicine vendors remained a presence in the wake of the slow professionalisation of pharmacy.

The professionalisation of druggists and chemists will be the dominant theme of the second chapter. Using a number of sources, including the *Pharmaceutical Journal*, chapter two will examine the slow growth of pharmaceutical professionalisation in

Cardiff. It will investigate a combination of factors which hampered professional growth, including the lack of educational facilities and the inconsistent levels of support offered to apprentices. Chapter two will also show that the urgency required to galvanise professionals was seemingly missing until the end of the period. As well as analysing professionalisation on a regional scale, this chapter will delve into the surviving materials from the period and examine the individuals who were classified as professionals. Chapter will seek analyse the extent to which the aspirations of local druggists were very different. This part of the chapter will analyse Cardiff professionals, John Munday and Robert Drane. It will show how both men, despite being registered chemists and druggists, were committed to different agendas. Chapter two will reveal that while Munday was very much an entrepreneur, Drane was a model professional who practiced high standards of pharmaceutical care. The research featured in the chapter will show a number of the town's professionals were well-respected and achieved upward social mobility. The information offered in chapter two will examine how the likes of John Munday was able assert himself on society and climb the ranks of the town's establishment.

The advertisement of proprietary medicines will take centre stage in the final chapter. Discussion will focus on a range of advertising techniques, and how drug proprietors used, and occasionally reworked certain techniques to create appeal for their medicines. Chapter three will show that while some used striking, repetitious text as a marketing tool, others used detailed facsimiles as a way of communicating with both the literate and illiterate. The research presented in the final chapter will also demonstrate how a different variety of testimonies were adopted to market proprietary medicines. The result of this research will show that medicine advertisers, albeit rather dubiously,

called upon doctors, local magistrates and ordinary working people to testify to the efficacy of their drugs. The sources used in the chapter will assess the strong possibility that medicine advertisements influenced local newspaper editors to re-think the ways in which they charged for column space. Equally, the final will examine to what extent medicine advertisements made an impact on the form and production of the newspaper.

CHAPTER 1

'A wonderful age for quackery'[67]

Quackery and Alternative Medicine in Cardiff

Quackery and irregular medical practice in Victorian Britain has received some academic analysis. Although, many have very briefly discussed this topic as part of their larger nineteenth-century social studies.[68] While some have highlighted the eighteenth century as the 'golden age' of quackery, others have argued otherwise.[69] It has been debated that after 1800, quacks 'continued to thrive' in a different form, with some 'embracing alternative medicines'.[70] With nineteenth-century Cardiff as it's setting, the following will discuss the extent to which the latter half of nineteenth century was a relatively successful period for quack and alternative medicine vendors. What follows will examine the public perception of quack and alternative medicine vendors. Indeed, these practitioners polarised opinion, and this chapter will show that while some were regarded as 'old and worthy inhabitants', others were condemned for fraudulent practices.[71] Throughout the period, it was the popularity of market quacks that caught the unwanted attention of Cardiff's local authorities. Their large following, and

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[67] Quotation obtained from *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 1 May 1858, p. 5.

[68] For some details of quackery and issues related with quack medicines see Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England, 1660-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Caroline Rance, *The Quack Doctor: Historical Remedies for Your Ills* (Stroud: History Press, 2013); Owen Davies, 'Cunning-Folk in the Medical Market-Place During the Nineteenth Century', *Medical History*, 43, 1 (1999), 55-73; Anne Digby, *Making a Medical Living: Doctors and Patients in the English Market Place for Medicine, 1720-1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[69] Lawrence I. Conrad, *The Western Medical Tradition: 800 BC to AD 1800, Volume 1,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 459.

[70] Waddington, *An Introduction to the Social History of Medicine*, p. 93.

[71] *Cardiff Times*, 15 May 1863, p. 7.

performance-driven marketing techniques often caused public disruptions, which infuriated authorities who were powerless to destabilise their trade. As well as examining how some street vendors 'puffed' their way in to the public imagination, the various marketing techniques of market quacks and medicine pedlars will be analysed. As part of this investigation, this chapter will scrutinise the lengths to which local authorities went in order to thwart the sales and advertisements of the 'quack nuisances'.[72] For sure, quacks and alternative medicine dealers faced a number of enemies across the period, which often included one another. The sources presented in this chapter will analyse the volatile relationships between alternative medicine vendors, who were said to have 'felt the pinch' during the period of professionalisation.[73] The findings presented in this chapter will reveal how these tenacious medicine vendors stood their ground to remain a presence, and fill a vacuum in the medical retail market that was left by the slow professionalisation of pharmacy.

This analysis will endorse an extremely important point stressed by Roy Porter in his approach to the use of the term 'quack'. Just as Porter did, this study will 'disclaim any absolute, platonic meaning for the term', and it will be used to 'convey neither blame nor praise'.[74] The terminology of quackery is truly difficult to clarify. Many academics have approached the definition, and many more have attempted to tackle, and redefine exactly what *quackery* is. Before the nineteenth century, academics attempted to provide a clear, concise definition of quackery. Published in 1776, Francis Spillsbury's *Free Thoughts on Quacks and their Medicines* gave the likes of Samuel

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[72] *Cardiff Times*, 28 September 1866, p. 8.

[73] Porter, *Health for Sale*, p. 235.

[74] Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England, 1666-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. vi.

Johnson, author and lexicographer, the opportunity to discuss quackery and its terminology. Johnson, proclaimed that the term 'quack' was an 'imitative word' that simply described the ways in which they advertised. Johnson explained that like 'those animals, they *quack-away* by advertisements and handbills, and the medicine they are possessed of'. According to Johnson, quacks were 'nothing more' than 'publishers and advertisers'.[75] By 1844 the definition transformed substantially, and became more centred around the morality and abilities or inabilities of the irregular practitioner. One doctor named Hastings argued that the more 'correct definition' of a quack was 'a pretender of knowledge of which he is not possessed - a vilifier of all that is honourable and respectable in the medical profession.'[76] In recent times, Ingemar Nordin has argued against the early definitions of quackery. Nordin stated that it would be 'strange to condemn working therapies just because they don't have a scientific basis'. Nordin reaches this conclusion by comparing the alternative methods adopted during acupuncture therapy. He asserts that while acupuncture therapy is extremely effective, it is not recognised as 'scientific in a strict sense'. From this Nordin argues that historians should avoid basing the definition of quackery on harm, and rather the functionality of the treatment.[77]

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[75] Francis Spillsbury, *Free Thoughts on Quacks and Their Medicines: Occasioned by the Death of Dr. Goldsmith and Mr. Scawen; Or, a Candid and Ingenuous Inquiry into the Merits and Dangers Imputed to Advertised Remedies* (London: J. Wilkie and Mr. Davenhill, 1776), p. 2.

[76] A Medical Practitioner, *Quacks and Quackery, A Remonstrance against the sanction given to the system of imposture, practised, in the quackeries of the day; with remarks on Homeopathy, Hydropathy, Mesmerism, Mesmer-Phrenology, &c.* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1844), p. 1.

[77] Ingemar Nordin, 'Quackery', in Lennart Nordenfelt and Per-Erik Liss (eds), *Dimensions of Health and Health Promotion* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), p. 188.

As Stephen Barrett suggests, this term simply 'seeks to distinguish folk practices' from 'practices for financial gain'. Interestingly, Barrett makes comparisons between the definition of quackery and 'health fraud'. However, like many other historians, he is cautious when comparing the two, noting 'health fraud' as a far more appropriate term when describing incidents of 'deliberate deception'. In his works, Barrett uses the terms 'unscientific or dubious' when referring to quackery. Barrett is equally cautious in his approach of the term 'alternative medicine'. In his discussion of 'health fraud' and deliberate deception, he argues that the 'ineffective methods' adopted by those found to be fraudsters could not be considered as 'true alternatives'.[78] In several of his publications including *Health for Sale* and *Quacks: Fakers and Charlatans in English Medicine*, Roy Porter has reiterated the immense difficulty that surrounds the definition of quackery. Porter maintained that historians cannot provide solid proof that quack doctors and quack medicine vendors were incompetent in their practices and insincere in their actions.[79] He explained that it is simply impossible for academics to 'peer into the souls' of quacks and question their sincerity or insincerity in practicing and dispensing medicine.[80] Such is the difficulty in clarifying this definition that Porter argues 'fringe medicine, 'marginal medicine', and 'alternative medicine' all stand as 'apt descriptions' of the practices of quackery.[81] Lori Loeb endorses the

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[78] Stephen Barrett, 'Fads, Frauds and Quackery', in Maurice Edward Shils and Moshe Shike (Tenth Edition), *Modern Nutrition in Health and Disease* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Williams and Wilkins, 2006), p. 1752.

[79] Roger Cooter, *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), p. 2.

[80] Cooter, *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine*, p. 2.

[81] Roy Porter, 'An unconscionable time dying', in Susan Budd and Ursula Sharma (eds), *The Healing Bond: The Patient-Practitioner Relationship and Therapeutic Responsibility* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 63.

arguments of Porter by accepting that quackery remains a 'slippery' definition that 'canvasses' all of those with no medical training or education.[82]

Academics have questioned the extent to which quack medicine dealers and patent medicine proprietors could be accepted and analysed under the same terminology. In *Tax, Medicine and the Law*, Chantal Stebbings acknowledges that many studies have identified patent medicines as a form of quackery. In her discussion of patent medicines and their terminology, Stebbings argues that the 'false claiming' of a royal patent did much damage the reputation of actual patent holders, who many of which were trained physicians. Stebbings work suggests the term 'patent medicines' was furthermore characterised as of a form quackery through the 'secrecy of the [medicine's] ingredients' and ostentatious advertising methods use to promote proprietary medicines. These quackish characteristics, Stebbings explains, have altogether changed the ways in which historians have approached the discussion of proprietary medicines. Thus, as Stebbings argues, the term 'patent medicines' is 'inaccurate and misleading' and 'came to be used, albeit incorrectly' to describe all proprietary medicines. In conjunction with Stebbings, Alan Mackintosh has argued that patent medicine proprietors 'had a specific status which was distinct from the activities' of quack medicine vendors and irregular practitioners. In identifying the differences between quack medicine dealers and proprietary medicine vendors, Mackintosh explains 'providing medicines in large quantities required investment, the skills and organisation of an industry'. In his work, Mackintosh also acknowledges that patent medicine proprietors were often trained physicians, and not the 'colourful irregulars'

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[82] Lori Loeb, 'Doctors and Patent Medicines in Modern Britain: Professionalism and Consumerism', *The North American Conference on British Studies* 33, 3 (Autumn, 2001), 406.

which some believe.[83] As chapters two and three will demonstrate, the advertisements listed in the local press were often from learned, professionalised pharmacists, who it may be argued, were a different entity to the quack and alternative medicine dealers referred to in this chapter. Not only did many serve apprenticeship and sit examinations under the Pharmaceutical Society, but they were businessman, who as Mackintosh highlighted, invested time, money and effort in expanding their enterprise.

Certainly, for much of Europe, thwarting quackery became a priority. In the 1780s, the French government co-operated with the Société Royale de Médecine to tackle the distribution of quack pills and potions.[84] In Germany, quackery and the sale of quack medicine took on 'almost wholly negative connotations' and 'was disapproved by the state'.[85] Back in the United Kingdom, many of the Georgians regarded quackery and the vending of bogus remedies as a 'national evil'.[86] Their practices did not go undetected by the Victorians, either. Vendors of quack remedies were condemned by many. They were identified as 'scoundrels' who 'systematically' fleeced the public 'under the guise of false medical titles'.[87] In areas like south Wales, the *Cardiff Times* regularly published reports about itinerant quacks. To cite an example. In 1890 a

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[83] Alan Mackintosh, *The Patent Medicines Industry in Georgian England: Constructing the Market by the Potency of Print* (New York: Springer Press, 2017), p. 61.

[84] Lawrence I. Conrad, Michael Neve, Vivian Nutton, Roy Porter, Andrew Wear, *The Western Medical Tradition: 800BC to AD 1800, Volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 459.

[85] Cornelie Usborne, *Cultures of Abortion in Weimar Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), p. 95.

[86] Anonymous, 'An Essay on Quackery, and the Dreadful Consequences Arising from Advertised Medicines' (Kingston Upon Hull: T. Clayton, 1805), p. 2.

[87] *The Lancet London: A Journal of British and Foreign Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics, Physiology, Chemistry, Pharmacology, Public Health and News* (2 vols. London: John Churchill, 1846), II, p. 108.

'bogus' cancer doctor named Maria Owen of Birmingham was imprisoned for obtaining money under false pretences. Prior to Owen's arrest, she promised a cancer-stricken woman that she would cure her sickness for the price of 4s and 6d. After receiving payment from the women, Owen was not seen again until her arrest.[88] It was incidents like this that cast a dark shadow over all quack and alternative medicine vendors. Indeed, it comes as no surprise that the practices of quackery were condemned by many as an 'abominable crime' that was 'a disgrace to a civilised society'.[89]

As well as reporting incidents from outside of Wales, local newspapers such as the *Cardiff Times* and the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, published reports on quacks who dealt and sold medicines in the region. In 1859, the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* reported the arrest of a quack under the alias 'De Le Cuere'. According to the paper, 'De Le Cuere' was arrested in Swansea, and imprisoned after selling a 'bottle of stuff' to a blind woman in an attempt restore her vision. The remedy sold by the quack was reported to have been a mixture of 'horse's urine and whiting'.[90] As well as publishing reports on incidents of quackery, newspapers also published the complaints received about quack medicine vendors. According to a complaint received from the village of Dinas Powys, quack medicine merchants in the area were reported to have 'gulled' the working classes 'out of their money' and sent them to 'premature graves'.[91] Throughout the period, working class village and townspeople were often on the receiving end of stories involving quackery. It was argued in a publication of *The Lancet* that the

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[88] *Cardiff Times*, 22 February, 1890, p. 7.

[89] *Cardiff Times*, 24 November, 1865, p. 5; *Cardiff Times*, 15 June, 1866, p. 5.

[90] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 8 August 1859, p. 6.

[91] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian, Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 1 May 1858, p. 5.

working classes were 'with a strange infatuation, addicted' to quack medicines during this period.[92] Some have argued fervently against this logic, and have insisted that it was not an addiction of any kind that influenced working class folk to purchase from market quacks. It was the 'anti-professional' feelings of the working classes that influenced many to approach alternative medicine vendors.[93] The local press editors may have published negative reports on quackery for a number of reasons. One of which, may have been to warn townspeople about the supposed dangers of consuming quack medicine. The other, it might be argued, may have been to damage the reputations of the quacks, who were in direct competition with the proprietary medicine men, whose purchase of the papers' advertising spaces was identified as a 'major source of revenue'.[94] Throughout the period, advertisements for proprietary medicines such as John Munday's Viridine [see Fig. 1.1.] were regular features of the newspaper broadsheet. While this type of advertisement provided a promotional service for Munday's product, it was also a consistent source of revenue for local newspapers and journals. The relationships between local newspapers and proprietary medicine advertisements will be explored more thoroughly in chapter three.

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[92] *The Lancet*, 24 July, 1875, p. 147.

[93] Berridge, 'Health and Medicine' from Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain*, p. 188.

[94] Simon J. Williams, Jonathan Gabe and Peter Davis, *Pharmaceuticals and Society: Critical Discourses and Debates* (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 2009), p. 15.

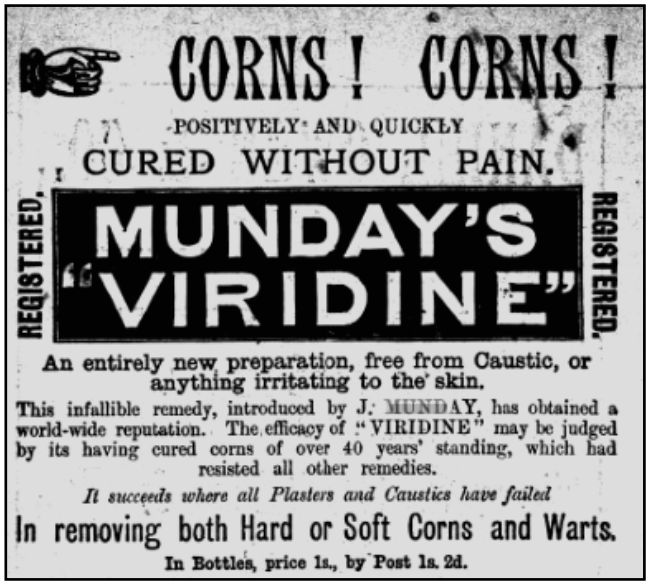

Fig. 1.1. An advertisement for Munday's Viridine, 1885.[95]

During the nineteenth century, the area surrounding Cardiff's public library was frequently used as an open-air market. The Cardiff open-air market was usually held on a Saturday night. It was a site where a variety of merchants, hawkers, quack medicine vendors, and 'cheap jacks' regularly competed for custom.[96] Across Victorian Britain in general, the open-air market was renowned as a raucous affair which promoted 'bad habits, low morals and public disorder'. In many parts of the country, open-air markets were notorious for being sites where 'fraud, crime and street fighting' were commonplace.[97] Sources suggest that quack medicine vendors could often be found within these hostile and hectic environments. The information provided by newspapers suggest that while many townspeople went to the Saturday night market to buy bread, fish and meat, many others went to purchase quack remedies. In a report entitled

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[95] *Red Dragon*, Vol. V, No. 6, 6 June, 1885, p. 110.

[96] *South Wales Daily News*, 12 August 1884, p. 2.

[97] Michael H. Shirley and Todd E. A. Larson (eds), *Splendidly Victorian: Essays in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British History in Honour of Walter L. Arnstein* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 189.

'Quack Doctors in Cardiff', the *Cardiff Times* described the 'large stationary crowds' that were attracted by a number quack medicine vendors. The authorities in charge of the market were reported to have lost control of the crowds, which continued on to the road and 'blocked the traffic' under the Batchelor monument. In the aftermath of the incident, a number of quack medicine vendors were held responsible for encouraging the 'scenes of disorder' on the Saturday night.[98] Other reports from the period have further illustrated the demand for quack and alternative medicines in the open-air market. On one Saturday evening in August, 1883, an 'itinerant corn curer' named George Jones was arrested by the Cardiff authorities. It was reported that the crowds drawn by Jones had 'caused obstructions' on the Hayes Bridge. The Cardiff authorities later fined the itinerant quack £5 for being a 'nuisance' in the area.[99] While these reports offer an insight into the popularity of quack medicine, they may also provide information about their trading habits. It appears that Saturday was the most important day of the week for the quack medicine vendor. Much of their intended target market, being factory and labour workers, enjoyed a half-day every Saturday. This half-day gave many workers the chance of shopping at the open-air evening markets.[100] Additionally, many factory and labour workers were paid their weeks wage on a Saturday, giving quacks furthermore reason to pitch their sales at the open-air market.[101] As alluded to in the case of George Jones, some travelling quack vendors recognised the opportunities

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[98] *Cardiff Times*, 21 May 1892, p. 7.

[99] *Cardiff Times*, 4 August 1883, p. 2.

[100] Francesca Carnevali and Julie-Marie Strange, *20th Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change* (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2007), p. 198.

[101] Paul O' Leary, *Claiming the Streets: Procession and Urban Culture in South Wales, c. 1830-1880* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), p. 108.

offered at the open-air market, and travelled to Cardiff with a view of capitalising on the wages paid to labour workers.

Throughout the period, local newspapers regularly lambasted quack medicine vendors as callous individuals, who targeted the sale of their remedies at the poor and disadvantaged. According to the accounts noted in the period, Cardiff's quack medicine vendors regularly attempted to offload their 'useless quack remedies' on to the poor. Among the victims targeted by quacks was 'one poor woman' who was duped in to purchasing 'bottle after bottle' of quack medicine at 14s. a piece. It was discovered that the woman chose to continue purchasing these remedies from street salesmen despite having 'a deficiency of food' at home.[102] Her need for such drugs was not detailed in the column. Naturally, there may have been a number of reasons as to why the woman may have kept returning to purchase the potion. The nature in which she continued to purchase bottles of the medicine suggests that she may have been feeding an addiction as well as treating an illness or an injury. Throughout Victorian Britain, drug addiction was not regarded as a 'major problem', and medicines were purchased casually and often taken with 'strictly euphoric purposes' in mind.[103] The incident involving the unnamed woman became a topic of discussion for the Cardiff Charity Organisation Society. In 1891, the Society became yet another organisation which vowed to block the sale of quack medicines in the town. During their discussion, members of the Society promised to thwart the trading activities of the many 'heartless quacks' who targeted

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[102] *South Wales Daily Post*, 26 November 1891, p. 3.

[103] Victor B. Stolberg, *Painkillers: History, Science and Issues* (California: ABC Clio, 2016), p. 35.

and ‘victimised invalids’.[104] Despite the Society’s aspirations to tackle quackery, there are no further indications that suggest they ever did so.

In 1896, the Cardiff Free Libraries Committee took action and banned the quack ‘nuisances’ from trading outside the library.[105] The group approached the Cardiff Property and Markets Committee about the issue, and in July 1896, all ‘quacks and cheap jacks’ were banned from pitching on the Hayes.[106] The Cardiff Parks Committee, who marshalled the open-air market on the Hayes, further urged the Public Health Committee to take samples of the market medicines to find out whether they were ‘fit to be retailed to the public’.[107] Sources suggest that the Cardiff authorities occasionally tested and analysed the chemicals supplied by quacks and alternative medicine vendors. In 1878, accounts were taken after the death of a young woman from Llantwit Fardre. According to the newspaper report, the young woman consumed numerous potions supplied to her by two herbalists. The medicines supplied to the woman were later chemically analysed by the ‘official analyst of the Borough of Cardiff’, Mr. Thomas. Although his results came back inconclusive, herbalists in the area were warned nevertheless. Mr. Thomas warned that if any herbalists were 'caught red-handed’ in dispensing bogus remedies, their ‘appeals for mercy would fail them.’[108] Indeed, the incident serves as a reflection of the struggles authorities faced in thwarting quack medicine. Throughout the period, authorities struggled to prove the intentions of quack medicine vendors, which made their crusade against the nuisance difficult to legitimise.

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[104] *South Wales Daily Post*, 26 November 1891, p. 3.

[105] *Cardiff Times*, 18 July 1896, p. 5.

[106] Ibid., p. 5.

[107] Ibid., p. 3.

[108] *South Wales Daily News*, 3 July 1878, p. 2.

Incidents such as the above may suggest that local authorities attempted to thwart the quacks for the careless nature of their dispensing. However, it can also be asserted that the authorities acted in order to foil the 'motivation of greed', which some have argued, influenced quacks to dispense without any care.[109]

In the years prior to the incident reported above, other authorities such as the Cardiff Property and Parks Committee and the Free Library Committee singled out quack medicine vendors as a disorderly public nuisance. As these authorities could not ban quack vendors for the medicines they sold, they attempted to ban them for the ways in which they tried to sell them. The obnoxious nature of the market quacks caught the imagination of the Cardiff Parks and Property Committee, who in 1892 vowed to ban them from trading at the Cardiff open-air market. According to reports, the Committee took notice of the 'state of the Hayes' on one Saturday evening, and banned quacks for 'shouting and bawling at the public'.[110] From the viewpoint of the Cardiff Parks and Property Committee, banning quacks and medicine pedlars for their public disturbance may have been an easier action to justify. It ought to be recognised that even with the various medicine-related legislation being passed, it was extremely difficult for any authorities to thwart the sale of quack and alternative medicine. The 1858 Medical Registration Act did not 'in any sense outlaw fringe practice', and authorities were left powerless to stop quack and alternative medicine vendors from dealing their wares.[111] The stipulations of Act were questioned by numerous physicians who wished to see the

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[109] Ludmilla J. Jordanova, *Defining Features: Scientific and Medical Portraits 1660-2000* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), p. 95.

[110] *Cardiff Times*, 14 May 1892, p. 3.

[111] Anne Digby, *Making a Medical Living: Doctors and Patients in the English Market for Medicine, 1720-1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 28.

end of quackery. One such as physician, F. B. Courtenay, called for the powers of the Act 'to be enlarged' in order to 'extirpate the whole gang [of quacks]'.[112] Ultimately, legislations associated with the placing of restrictions on the selling of un-patented medicines were mostly unsuccessful as it was 'impossible to prove that the seller had a guilty mind'.[113]

According to accounts recorded between 1850 and 1900, a number of quack medicine vendors were caught red-handed in their attempts to defraud the patent medicine system. In 1889, Robert Chapman of Cardiff was reported to have been charged with selling medicines with false trademarks. According to the *South Wales Daily News,* Chapman was taken in to custody after it was discovered that he was selling home-made medicines under the 'falsified patent' of 'Sequah's Oils', a 'prairie flower' oil patented by Yorkshireman, William Hartley.[114] It ought to be recognised that this type of fraudulent activity was often reported in the local press. Years before Chapman's arrest, in 1863, an un-named quack medicine vendor was exposed for attempting to capitalise on the 'celebrity of Nelson's Pills'. According to a report published in the *Cardiff Times*, the vendor was caught and penalised for 'hawking pills' under the Nelson name.[115] Indeed, this type of forgery was 'rampant' in Victorian Britain. According to Louise Penner, quacks regularly 'appropriated the names of

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[112] F. B. Courtenay, *Revelations of Quacks and Quackery* (London: H. Bailliere, 1865), p. 124.

[113] H. S. Harrison, *The Law on Medicines*, *Volume 1 A Comprehensive Guide* (New York: Springer Publishing, 2012), p. 4.

[114] *South Wales Daily News*, 23 July 1891, p.3.; Edward Shorter, 'Chapter 4: Primary Care' from Roy Porter, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 128.

[115] *Cardiff Times*, 8 May 1863, p. 2.

medical practitioners, both dead and living'.[116] Sources suggest that quack medicine pedlars continued to adopt fraudulent practices in order to exploit the townspeople for financial gain. Towards the end of the century in 1895, a notorious itinerant quack who appropriated the name 'Dr Findlay' was arrested in Cardiff after attempting to obtain goods under 'false pretences'. According to a column published by the *Evening Express*, before being arrested by Detective Rankin of the Cardiff Police, Findlay fooled many people across the nation. The opportunistic charlatan was wanted in Ayrshire, where under false pretences he obtained 'clothing, liquors and a gold watch'. He was also wanted in Bath for committing the same crime.[117] Opportunists such as Findlay exploited the name of the local medic in order to gain the trust of the public. By unlawfully posing as medical doctors, Penner argues that quack vendors and bogus doctors appeared to have 'legitimised' their remedies, which very often persuaded the public to invest in their services and products.[118]

Evidence suggests that quack medicine vendors advertised their goods in a variety of different ways. The Cardiff quack vendors often made their own posters and bills, and placed them wherever possible. Unlike placing advertisements in newspapers, this form of promotion was cost effective and less time consuming. Additionally, this advertising technique was far more effective for those who travelled the area selling quack medicines. In 1866, the *Cardiff Times* gave insight into both the creative and pervasive nature of quack advertisements. According to the paper, quacks marketed their remedies and nostrums by posting 'bills into doorways' and converting many

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[116] Louise Penner, *Victorian Medicine and Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 16.

[117] *Evening Express*, 28 August 1895, p. 1.

[118] Penner, *Victorian Medicine and Popular Culture*, p. 16.

gateposts and kerbstones into 'advertising mediums'.[119] The newspaper provided further details of the prevalent nature of these advertisements, observing that Cardiffians could not walk 'one hundred yards on the highway or the bye-way' without 'seeing their vile announcements'.[120] Clearly, this evidence suggests that the Victorian quack was willing to advertise their wares in any way possible. In 1865, quack vendors were heavily criticised for 'disfiguring every wall' with their advertisements.[121] Local authorities in Cardiff thereby focused on restricting this aspect of quackery too. According to the same article, the authorities were reported to have 'taken a step in the right direction' to undermine quack advertisements by instructing the county police to stop the 'abominable practices' of quackery.[122] Despite these attempts, over twenty years later in 1889 the authorities in Llandaff were still battling this issue. Like other newspapers before it, the *South Wales Daily News* criticised quack medicine vendors for posting 'placards on to corporation property'. According to the report, the Llandaff Highway Board declared its aim of 'preventing the nuisance' by banning all quack advertisements that were posted on gates and fences at the sides of the public roads.[123] Indeed, Cardiff's quack vendors may have utilised this form of advertisement for a number of reasons. A study by Terry Nevett has shown that although the newspaper press was transforming to a more consumer-friendly platform, it could not facilitate and satisfy the needs of all advertisers. By posting bills and printed advertisements, the quack was offered 'enormous creative scope' that would have otherwise been unavailable in the

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[119] *Cardiff Times*, 15 June 1866, p. 6.

[120] ibid., p. 6.

[121] *Cardiff Times*, 24 November 1865, p. 5.

[122] *Cardiff Times*, 15 June 1866 p. 6.

[123] *South Wales Daily News*, 9 May 1889, p. 6.

newspaper. Nevett recognises that the instant nature of these advertisements were not 'confined' by the 'column rules' of newspapers.[124] Additionally, he explains that the poster allowed the advertiser to 'disseminate information' with 'remarkable rapidity'.[125] In her studies of the north of England, Hilary Marland maintains that the development of quack advertisements, such as handbills and posters, were in retaliation of the 'regular practitioners' who attacked their trade. Marland further asserts that by 'developing their marketing skills', quacks somewhat became more sophisticated and became 'small-time entrepreneurs'.[126] A study by Elizabeth McFall has discussed the power of the 'instant advertisement'. In her work, McFall likens bill posting to today's billboard. She argues that this marketing strategy 'had greater reach and permanence than press advertising' which lasted 'only as long as any given issue.'[127]

During the period, many quack medicine dealers turned to performance as a way of pitching their sales to the public. Just as the medieval quack relied on the 'traditional component' of self-parody as a sales technique, the Georgian quack stood at a podium and 'drummed up custom by face-to-face contact'.[128] It ought to be recognised that many Victorian quacks also relied on 'puffing' to sell their wares. Puffing was a vocal form of advertisement which quacks adopted in order to place emphasis on the efficacy of their products. This form of self-advertisement was often received negatively. In

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[124] Terry R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History* (London: Heinemann, 1982), p. 53.

[125] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 53.

[126] Hilary Marland, *Medicine and Society in Wakefield and Huddersfield* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 247.

[127] Elizabeth Rose McFall, *Advertising: A Cultural Economy* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2004), p. 119.

[128] M. A. Katritzky, *Women, Medicine and Theatre, 1500-1750: Literary Mountebanks and Performing Quacks* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), p. 36.

1836 Horace Smith recognised puffing as a method undertaken by quacks for the 'purpose of gulling the public and cajoling them' into buying their remedies.[129] Throughout the period in question, this relentless method of advertising was adopted by many quack medicine vendors in Cardiff. Indeed, the puffing from Cardiff's quack vendors was duly noted in newspaper reports. According to the *Cardiff Times*, one quack's puffing on the Hayes was recognised as a 'nuisance caused to readers in the large reading rooms' of the public library.[130] As alluded to in this research, quacks were frequently accused of shouting as a way of attracting attention. Indeed, these loud, animated forms of advertisement may have been the most popular for many of Cardiff's quack medicine vendors. In her works on quackery, Caroline Rance has argued that quack and alternative medicine vendors often relied on the power of 'word of mouth' to form 'the main vehicle' of their promotions.[131]

Although it seems as though the newspapers often condemned quacks and alternative medicine vendors as nuisances, one report suggests that not all irregular medicine vendors were regarded in this way. The Cardiff newspapers occasionally praised the characters of some irregular practitioners. In May 1863, the *Cardiff Times* reported on the case of 'a quack prosecution' in Cardiff. Robert Nelson, a herbalist who was summoned to court, was 'honourably acquitted' as it was recognised that he was 'an old and worthy inhabitant' of Cardiff. Following Nelson's acquittal, his followers and customers were said to have lined the streets, applauding and shouting 'Nelson

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[129] Quotation from Horace Smith in the *Tin Trumpet* (1836), and cited in John Strachan, *Advertising and Satirical Culture in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 253.

[130] *Cardiff Times*, 18 July 1896, p. 5.

[131] Caroline Rance, *The Quack Doctor: Historical Remedies for All Your Ills* (Stroud: History Press limited, 2013), p. 139.

forever'. This well-respected herbalist, who was known for his philanthropic deeds, was described as a 'respected friend of the town' before being set free.[132] From such evidence of Nelson's character, it is clear that he gave back to the local community as a way of building and maintaining positive relations with his customers. According to accounts, Nelson helped feed the poor by 'very liberally' donating 350 loaves of bread. His sheer generosity led to the *Cardiff Times* declaring that not a 'man in Cardiff, no, not in all Wales' who would attempt to harm him.[133] Commentators such as Lori Loeb have stated that acts of philanthropy and generosity were common ways for irregular practitioners to 'confirm their respectability' among the masses.[134] Roy Porter observed that many dealers of alternative medicine were committed to building positive relationships with their customers. Porter noted that many quacks and alternative drug vendors paid 'special attention' to the 'public relations side of the therapeutic encounter'. Furthermore, Porter believed that quacks who gave 'psychological support to sufferers' often benefitted the most, and made 'good use of the placebo effect'.[135]

Nelson's popularity in Cardiff was partly due to his services as a reputable herbalist. Increasingly throughout the nineteenth century, herbalism gathered a large following in working class industrial towns and was popular for various reasons.[136]

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[132] *Cardiff Times*, 15 May 1863, p. 7.

[133] ibid., p. 7.

[134] Lori Loeb, 'Doctors and Patent Medicines in Modern Britain: Professionalism and Consumerism', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 33, 3, (Autumn, 2001), 406.

[135] Roy Porter, 'An unconscionable time dying', in Susan Budd, Ursula Sharma, *The Healing Bond: The Patient-Practitioner Relationship and Therapeutic Responsibility* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 63.

[136] Deborah Brunton, *Medicine Transformed: Health, Disease and Society in Europe 1800-1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 135.

Those who purchased these medicines became their own physicians and did not have sacrifice a day's wage to see a medical practitioner. Labourers of the Cardiff industries chose to purchase herbal remedies as they did not always have the time, or money, to consult regular practitioners. For many during this period, 'sickness meant loss of wages, often destitution', and those with work could simply not risk falling ill.[137] As Roy Porter has pointed out, herbalism and the idea of self-medication was recognised as another form of self-help. He further asserts that self-help, along with 'sturdy individualism, purity and liberty', grew to 'represent the ideals of self-improvement' among the working class.[138] Alan Mackintosh asserts that the purchase of all medicines, whether they were quack, alternative, or professionally prepared were promotions of self help. This self help, he argues, was promoted due to the 'doubts about regular medicine'.[139]

Members of the public often preferred to visit alternative medicine vendors rather than trained medical practitioners. In an account recorded in 1893 Jeannie Gallant, a barmaid of Newport, travelled to Cardiff to purchase remedies from a herbalist. After an unhappy marriage, Gallant sank into a depression and travelled to the town in search of a cure. Once in Cardiff, Gallant consulted a herbalist who was reported to have prepared a cure for her depression. Unsurprisingly, the remedy dispensed by the herbalist failed to provide any cure and weeks later, Jeannie Gallant attempted suicide by overdosing on laudanum. After failing to receive a cure from the

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[137] Mary Chamberlain, *Old Wives' Tales: The History of Remedies, Charms and Spells* (Stroud: History Press, 2010), p.90.

[138] Roy Porter, *Disease, Medicine and Society in England, 1550-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 43.

[139] Alan Mackintosh, *The Patent Medicine Industry in Georgian England: Constructing the Market by the Potency of Print* (New York: Springer, 2017), p. 39.

herbalist, Gallant travelled to see a trained medical physician who later diagnosed her with 'melancholia'.[140] In the case involving Gallant, it appears that seeing a trained physician was the last resort after her visit to a Cardiff herbalist, and her attempted suicide. The pursuit of an alternative cure may have appealed to Jeanie Gallant for a number of reasons. One reason, of course, was the expensive prices charged by doctors, which as Russell Davies observed, varied from practitioner to practitioner. Some Cardiff doctors, like William Price, were sympathetic to the poor and needy, and 'charged according to the ability of his patients to pay'.[141] Other Cardiff-based doctors were reported to have charged higher fees for their services. To cite an example, one Cardiff-based doctor named Hannan was reported to have charged £5 4s and 6d for treating the 'somewhat prolonged' illness of a patient in 1898.[142] In 1900, this would amount to fifteen days wages for a skilled tradesman.[143] It is of course worth noting that doctors charged their patients for more than just the medicines they prepared. They also made charges for long journeys and repeat visitations.[144] The payment of these fees was clearly an issue for some, and when they could not be paid, it was made in to a greater issue at the county court. In 1899 Dr. Campbell-McColl of Canton sued Ruben Mitchell of Riverside for failing to pay £5 6s as 'fees for professional services rendered'. Another

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[140] *Cardiff Times*, 11 March 1893, p. 6.

[141] Russell Davies, *People Places and Passions: A Social History of Wales and the Welsh, 1870-1948, Volume One* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), p. 147.

[142] *Cardiff Times*, 16 April 1898, p. 7.

[143] Calculation according to the National Archives Currency Converter, 1270-2017.

[144] Kyle Loudon and Irvine Loudon, *Medical Care and the General Practitioner, 1750-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 249.

consideration might have been the 'pompous demeanour' of medical doctors, which may have furthermore encouraged the likes of Jeannie Gallant to consult a herbalist.[145]

The accounts and news reports published throughout the period suggest that quack and alternative remedies appealed to the more superstitious members of the public. The credulous nature of the public was occasionally addressed in the provincial press. In the *Cardiff Times* in 1881, the 'old superstitions', such as 'respecting ghosts, fairies, fortune tellers and wise men', were said to have still been 'strongly implanted' in the minds of the Welsh people. Additionally, the article suggested that the Welsh were attracted to quacks due to their possession of 'occult powers' that went 'beyond their bare medical knowledge'.[146] Of course, without solid evidence historians cannot prove, nor disprove that these beliefs were popular in Cardiff. However, in his study of Victorian Wales, Ieuan Gwynedd Jones suggests there was a 'prevalence of superstition and the belief in magic and omens', and further states that both country and townsfolk were fully prepared to resort to the services of the wise man/woman.[147] Owen Davies points out that alternative forms of medicine were immensely popular for a number of other reasons. In his studies, Davies asserts that alternative and quack medicines were successful because orthodox medicines were largely 'ineffective' until the twentieth century. Davies also suggests that many people did not accept orthodox medicines because superstitious practices were seen as a perfectly legitimate means of curing

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[145] Roy Porter, 'Before the Fringe: 'Quackery' and the Eighteenth Century Medical Market', in Roger Cooter (ed.), *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988) p. 4.

[146] *Cardiff Times*, 2 July 1881, p.4.

[147] Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, *Mid-Victorian Wales: The Observers and the Observed* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), p. 131.

ailments and illnesses.[148] In her studies of health and medicine, Virginia Berridge offers a different argument to Davies, suggesting that by the end of the century there was a 'shift away' from the 'independent ideas of folk and herbal medicine'. Berridge argues that there was a greater dependence on expert and professional assistance in the years leading up to the twentieth century. [149]

During the period, there were a number of fierce rivalries between Cardiff's alternative medicine vendors. Indeed, some were far more intense and violent than others. In September, 1865, 'squabbles between rival herbalists' were reported in the *Cardiff Times.* According to the report, two Bute Street herbalists were involved in an altercation. James Price and his son were summoned to the Cardiff courts for attacking the servant of a herbalist named Mr De Feese's. According to the newspaper the servant, named John Davies, was attacked by the Prices while walking to work. Price's unnamed son was alleged to have struck Davies above the eye with the handle of his penknife. James Price was then said to have continued the attack by repeatedly kicking fifteen year old Davies in the ribs. Following the incident, the *Cardiff Times* noted that Davies, who was 'initiated into the secrets of the trade' by James Price, set up a 'rival establishment' under the employment of Mr De Feese.[150] Having felt betrayed by Davies, the Prices struck out, and attacked the young man in revenge. Although there was a clear motive for the attack, it may be argued that the pressures of survival may have intensified the rivalries between alternative medicine vendors. During this period,

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[148] Owen Davies, 'Cunning-Folk in the Medical Market-Place during the Nineteenth Century', *Medical History*, 43, 1 (1999), 57.

[149] Virgina Berridge, 'Health and Medicine' from Francis M. L. Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 190.

[150] *Cardiff Times*, 22 September 1865, p. 8.

the pharmaceutical profession was growing, and organisations such as the Pharmaceutical Society aimed to educate a new generation of druggists that could wipe out those who were not willing to professionalise. On the subject of the 'rising generation of pharmaceutists' the Society made it clear that they wanted to distinguish their young rising talents from herbalists, and other alternative medicine vendors that were recognised as 'heterogeneous hybrids' who 'sailed blindfolded under the colours of their masters bottles'.[151] From the evidence provided, it may be asserted that the pressure to remain in business alone during this period would have intensified the competitive nature between herbalists. As such, herbalists may have felt an added pressure to survive in the medical retail market, as well as compete. In his works, Porter stresses that historians should not 'expect to find battle-lines' drawn in an 'orderly fashion' between regular practitioners and the 'barbarian hordes of medicasters'. Hostilities between irregular practitioners and alternative medicine proprietors often reached boiling point, and many fought to 'vindicate their honour as true physicians'.[152]

Quacks and alternative medicine vendors in Cardiff were in most cases complex, calculated and entrepreneurial individuals. The quack and alternative medicine trade was fiercely competitive and could often be brutal. The positions these traders occupied in the market was unpredictable. Some individuals fraudulently played the patent system, while others exploited the name of the trained medic by illegally appropriating a professional title. Indeed, many of these characters fitted the classic interpretation of the quack, who historically, was notorious for attempting to obtain wealth under false pretences. As demonstrated, some alternative medicine vendors provided a genuine

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[151] *The Pharmaceutical Journal*, Vol. XVI, No. V., 1 November 1856, p. 262.

[152] Porter, *Health for Sale*, p. 188.

service, which may serve as a reminder of why historians are cautious in giving their definitions of quackery. Certainly, the respectable nature of some alternative medicine vendors suggests that they may have been 'well-intentioned healers' after all.[153] Although Roy Porter believes that the creation of the medical registers 'stymied the quack's dream of hobnobbing with the medicos', the evidence presented here suggests that many quacks were determined to keep trading.[154] In the years following medical registration, the 'rampant' quacks held on to their place in medical retail, which incensed Cardiff's authorities.[155] Throughout the period, the authorities tried their utmost to bring an end to this 'wonderful age for quackery', but almost always came up short.[156] Despite the threats posed to quack medicine vendors, the demand for their wares did not cease. The slow professionalisation of pharmacy left a vacuum which quack vendors filled. Although some vendors may have felt the pressure from professionalisation, many others continued their dealings, and regularly frequented the Cardiff open-air markets. As well as demonstrating the perseverance and popularity of quack and alternative medicine vendors, this chapter has also shown that the public were prepared to accept their peculiar remedies as preferable options to the treatments offered by trained physicians. Indeed, those who were prepared to accept these pills and potions were also prepared to face consequences that may have been costly to their health.

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[153] Penelope J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain, 1700-1850* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 144.

[154] Roy Porter, *Quacks*, p. 207.

[155] *Cardiff Times*, 24 November 1865, p. 5.

[156] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 1 May 1858, p. 5.

CHAPTER 2

'The Grand Principle'[157]

The Professionalisation of Chemists and Druggists in Cardiff

In August 1849, the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain declared that its 'grand principle' had been realised in the idea that the 'business of a chemist and druggist was more than a mere trade'. Professionalisation, standardisation and education became key priorities for the Society. Leading members of the organisation were adamant in their belief that 'respectability and success' were 'directly connected with professional qualification'.[158] The work of the Society would result in the growth of pharmaceutical professionalisation across Britain and several parts of the empire. The efforts and impact made by the Pharmaceutical Society has caught the attention of a number studies - many of which will be referred to in this chapter.[159] Indeed, the pharmaceutical profession has been recognised one of the 'few medical groups to emerge' in nineteenth-century Britain.[160] However, as this chapter will demonstrate, the foundation of this profession was by no means an overnight success. The professionalisation process was attenuated in Cardiff for a number of reasons. It will show how the key

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[157] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Vol IX, No. II, 1 August 1849, p. 50.

[158] ibid., p. 50.

[159] For some details on the professionalisation of pharmacy see Sydney W. F. Holloway, *Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, 1841-1991* (London: Pharmaceutical Press, 1991); Bryony Hudson, Maureen Boylan, *The School of Pharmacy, University of London: Medicines, Science and Society, 1842-2012* (London: Academic Press, 2012); John A. Hunt, *Pharmacy in the Modern World, 1841 to 1986 AD* from Stuart Anderson, *Making Medicines: A Brief History of Pharmacy and Pharmaceuticals* (London: Pharmaceutical Press, 2005); J. K. Crellin, 'The Growth of Professionalism in Nineteenth-century British Pharmacy', *Medical History*, 11 (1967), 215-227.

[160] Hill-Curth, *From Physick to Pharmacology*, p. 85.

aspects required to stimulate professionalisation were seemingly missing. In the final decade of the century, professionals promised the organisation of a local society, but did not established one until much later. To the annoyance of the Pharmaceutical Society, the foundation of a local branch in Cardiff took over half a century to materialise. Unlike other areas of the country, there were no educational facilities, or any such provisions in place for chemists and druggists until the next century. The recorded numbers of candidates sitting pharmaceutical exams in Cardiff were lower than the figures recorded elsewhere. In the early years of the professionalisation process, there was a lack of registered apprentices in Cardiff. Later in the century, the development of apprentices was inconsistent, and without the practical and educational support, many failed to make the grade. As well as analysing professionalisation on a regional scale, this chapter will delve into the surviving materials from the period and examine the individuals who were classified as professionals. One of the purposes of this study will be to demonstrate how some druggists and chemists were able to seize their opportunities and assert themselves on the local community by obtaining sought after positions in local government and fraternal organisations. Prior to these examinations, and in the interest of contextualisation, it will be the intention to map out the beginnings of Pharmaceutical Society, its first followers in Cardiff, and how one of its chief aims was to 'increase the respectability' of drug dispensers through education and examination.[161]

The Pharmaceutical Society was established in 1841, and aimed to 'lay the foundation of the desired improvement' of the standards of education for all drug vendors. As well as aspiring to create a unified, respectable profession, the Society

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[161] Jacob Bell and Theophilus Redwood, *Historical Sketch of the Progress of Pharmacy in Great Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 145.

desperately wanted to 'advance the scientific knowledge' amongst druggists and chemists.[162] In 1856, the organisation published a column in the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* that called for the attention of all chemists and druggists in the region.[163] According to the report, one of the chief aims of the organisation was to see an end to the 'indiscriminate sale of poisons' across the United Kingdom. The burning ambitions of the Pharmaceutical Society were proclaimed throughout the century, and some of Cardiff's well known druggists and chemists were accepted in to the movement after passing Society examinations.[164] Under the stipulations of the Pharmacy Act of 1852, formal recognition as a druggist and chemist, or a pharmaceutical chemist, was only granted once a candidate passed the minor or major examination. In the 1868 Pharmacy Act, this stipulation was amended, and from then on, examination became a compulsory requirement for professionalisation.[165] During the examination process, candidates skills in English language, Latin translation and mathematics were put to the test.

The registers published by the *Pharmaceutical Journal* suggest that a number of Cardiff-based chemists and druggists joined the movement early on. When the society was established in 1841, James Coleman was listed as Cardiff's first member, and was joined later by a number of others.[166] The Pharmaceutical Society regularly published lists of members, associates and apprentices in the *Journal*. A list compiled in 1856 featured the names of those recognised as associates of the Society. Among the list were

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[162] Bryony Hudson, Maureen Boylan, *The School of Pharmacy, University of London: Medicines, Science and Society, 1842-2012* (London: Academic Press, 2012), p. 7.

[163] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 1 November 1856, p. 6.

[164] ibid, p. 6.

[165] Hudson and Boylan, *The School of Pharmacy*, p. 207.

[166] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Vol. XVII, 1857-58, p. 66.

a number of Cardiff-based chemist and druggists. Featured in the list were the names of Francis W. Joy, Evan Prosser, Benjamin Smith, William Luke Evans, Nelson Marks, Phillip Griffith, John Parry James and Thomas Morgan.[167] In the early years of the movement, professionalisation rested upon the shoulders of these men. As representatives of the Society, they were relied upon to spread the word of professionalisation and serve as instructors to Cardiff's aspiring chemists and druggists. The lists of practitioners and apprentices recorded in the *Pharmaceutical Journal* allows historians to better measure the development of professionalisation. One list recorded in 1854 suggests the future of the profession looked bright. According to the nationwide list, over 130 apprentices were registered to local instructors. Alarmingly however, not a single name on the list belonged to anyone from Cardiff.[168]

Two years after the 1854 list was recorded, there was still a dearth of apprentices registered in Cardiff. By 1856, the number of apprentices nationwide had more than doubled. Out of the 300 apprentices registered, none were from Cardiff. There were, however, records of apprentices in other parts of Wales, such as Swansea, Haverfordwest and Narbeth.[169] For the best part of a decade, there was a shortage of apprentices in Cardiff. By 1865, out of the five hundred and nineteen registered apprentices, only eleven were based in Wales. William Davies, an apprentice of Alfred Coleman, was the only one registered in Cardiff.[170] Indeed, there may have been a combination of factors that stunted the growth of apprentices. One of the more obvious

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[167] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Vol. XVI, 1856-57, p. 1.

[168] ibid., pp. 97-103.

[169] *Pharmaceutical journal*, Vol XIII, 1, July 1 1853, pp. 10-11.,; *Pharmaceutical journal and Transactions*, Vol XIII, 1853-54, p.305.

[170] *Pharmaceutical journal and Transactions*, Vol VI, 1864-65, pp. xlix-lviii.

factors may have been related to their payment. Although dispensing apprentices were often regarded as a 'cheap but well motivated source of labour', their payment may have been difficult to justify.[171] Some Cardiff-based chemists and druggists may have recognised the apprentice as a financial burden. It may equally be suggested that some may not have required apprentices to help run their businesses.

After the passing of the 1868 Pharmacy Act, and as well as receiving instruction from their mentors, it became compulsory for apprentices to receive education at evening classes or at schools of pharmacy. With no school of pharmacy in Cardiff until the twentieth century, the town's apprentices could only rely on their masters for practical instruction. Under the guidance of their instructors, apprentices were meant to go on to sit the chemists and druggists preliminary exam, and then a further qualifying exam, otherwise known as the minor. Although some made it through the examination process, many others were not as fortunate. During the 1870s and 80s, the exam results recorded are inconsistent in their pass and/or failure rate, which may serve as an indication of how some instructors approached their roles. In 1871, Evan Griffith and one other un-named Cardiff-based apprentice made it through the examination process. How many Cardiff-based apprentices sat the exams altogether is unknown. What is known, however, is that other results shown from this sitting suggest that instructors from other parts of Wales were more supportive of their apprentices. The results show that while five candidates were recorded to have passed in Swansea, three also passed in Carmarthen and three more were successful in Aberdare.[172] The results recorded a few

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[171] S. W. F. Holloway, 'Producing Experts, Constructing Expertise: The School of Pharmacy of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, 1842-1896, from Roy Porter and Vivian Nutton, *The History of Medical Education in Britain* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), p. 116.

[172] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Series III, Vol II, 1871-72, p. 329.

years later may furthermore illustrate the inconsistent levels of dedication shown by instructors. In 1884, out of fourteen candidates examined in Cardiff between July and November, six passed.[173] From the accounts recorded in the newspapers, it is known that a number of professionals did play a role in the instruction of their apprentices. In the 1880s, Albert Hagon mentored a number of apprentices including C. A. Jones, who passed his minor examination in 1886.[174] Alfred Coleman went on to tutor more apprentices too, such as Harold Prosser, who qualified as a chemist and druggist in 1895.[175] It may be suggested that these professionals may have been among the 'minority of principles who took their roles as instructors seriously'.[176]

In keeping record of professionalisation, the Pharmaceutical Society regularly published exam attendances in the *Pharmaceutical Journal*. While the attendance figures do not tell us what exams were being sat, they do provide insight into the professional development. The figures recorded across the 1870s, 80s and 90s reveal exam attendances in Cardiff were comparatively lower than others. Between October 1878 and October 1879, 28 candidates sat the Society's examinations in Cardiff. Within the same time frame, it appears that druggists and chemists around Carmarthenshire were far more keen to be examined. In Carmarthen, 49 candidates were recorded to have sat examinations.[177] Figures recorded between 1886 and early 1889 show that 97 candidates sat examinations in Cardiff, which may seem a considerable improvement.

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[173] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Vol XV, 1884-85, p. 356.

[174] *Western Mail*, 6 May 1886, p. 5.

[175] *South Wales Daily News*, 28 January 1895, p. 6.

[176] S. W. F. Holloway, *Producing Experts, Constructing Expertise*, from Porter and Nutton, *The History of Medical Education in Britain*, p. 116.

[177] Figures gathered from *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Vol IX,1878-79 and Vol X, 1879-80.

During this particular period, the attendance records in Cardiff were higher than those recorded in Lancaster, Northampton and York. However, the figures gathered for areas across the north of England dwarf those taken for Cardiff. In the same period, 334 candidates were examined in Manchester, 117 were examined in Sheffield and 223 were examined in Birmingham. 274 candidates sat the exams in Leeds and 168 were tested in Nottingham.[178] In the years after, Cardiff was again shown to be behind other areas in the process. Examination attendances taken in 1892 and 1894 reveal 60 candidates sat exams in Cardiff, whereas 66 were examined in Carmarthen, 65 in Bristol, 106 in Nottingham and 125 in Leeds.[179]

While some have discussed the issues relating to the development of apprentices, others have raised concerns about the role of women in professional pharmacy. Reflecting on this topic, Ellen Jordan has shown that between the years 1873 and 1891 only 16 women were recorded to have taken the chemist and druggists qualifying exam.[180] What is known is that three years later in 1894, 14 of the 79 candidates who that sat the minor examinations were women. Of the fourteen candidates, two sat exams in Cardiff.[181] In the 1870s, leading members of the Pharmaceutical Society were reported to have agreed on the entrance of women in to the profession. According to reports, the Society was 'ready to educate and examine' female candidates. It was thought that the 'natural handiness and neatness of a woman' would have been utilised to good effect in the chemist's shop. Despite the Society's

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[178] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Vol XX, 1889-90, p. 13.

[179] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Series III, Vol XXV, 1894-95, p. 386.

[180] Ellen Jordan, *The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 178.

[181] *Evening Express*, 11 April 1894, p. 3.

perceived enthusiasm, and our knowledge of the small growth of women entering the profession, there is a paucity of evidence which suggests women were welcomed by Cardiff-based professionals.[182] Indeed, there is also no evidence which suggests female chemists and druggists set up their own businesses, or prepared and marketed their own medicines in Cardiff. As such, this chapter can only raise this aspect of professionalisation as an issue, and one of which goes beyond scope of this thesis.

Although Cardiff was home to more registered professionals than both Carmarthenshire and Swansea by 1885, the industrial town was by no means leading the way in Wales. In 1885, there were 44 registered chemists, druggists and pharmaceutical chemists in Cardiff. It ought to be stressed that these 44 practitioners had a far larger population to serve. By 1885, Cardiff was a town of 100,000 people that was only getting larger. In Carmarthen, 40 registered professionals practiced in a town of just 10,000 people.[183] Swansea's 43 chemists and druggists served a population slowly approaching 70,000.[184] Although Cardiff had the highest amount of professionals, the ratio of chemist and druggist to inhabitants was low in comparison. Cardiff's population rapidly expanded from the mid-century, and by the end of period, there were well over 100,000 people living in the town.[185] Indeed, the professionalisation process faced difficult competition from the growing the number of people needing medical assistance. It may be argued that the lack of urgency shown in organising and educating training chemists and druggists could be to blame for this. Equally, there may be other

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[182] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette,* 30 November, 1872, p. 2.

[183] The Register of Pharmaceutical Chemists and Chemists and Druggists, (1885); *The Cambrian*, 19 May 1893, p. 7.

[184] ibid.; *South Wales Echo*, 16 April 1891, p. 3.

[185] ibid.;*Evening Express*, 26 June 1891, p. 3.

reasons as for the low ratio of professionalised chemists and druggists to inhabitants. Hilary Marland's study of doctors in the north of England argues that many professionals preferred to practise in smaller, less industrially developed towns, where the local economies were centred around 'trading and service functions'. Marland asserts that the smaller trading towns had greater amounts of middle class residents, which was likely to attract professionals.[186] In following Marland's example, it may be suggested that many chemists and druggists opted to practise in less urbanised and less populated areas like Carmarthen and Swansea for similar reasons. It has been argued that the standards of living for some chemists and druggists was 'scarcely higher than that of their customers', and the line between success and failure was regarded as 'a tenuous one'.[187] Judging by the information available on some of Cardiff's professionalised chemists and druggists, only a small few were able to assert themselves on society, and their market. This of course allows room for speculation on the success of the lesser known professionals. From this, it may therefore be suggested that professional life was not as prosperous for some. Indeed, this hard living may have encouraged many chemists and druggists to search for custom in more rural areas.

By the mid-nineteenth century, there were a number of institutions formed in towns and cities with the purpose of educating and professionalising chemists and druggists. In the months after the establishment of the Pharmaceutical Society in 1841, there were 'some kind of educational provisions' put in place in areas such as Bath,

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[186] Hilary Marland, *Medicine and Society in Wakefield and Huddersfield: 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 260.

[187] Sydney W. F. Holloway, *Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, 1841-1991* (London: Pharmaceutical Press, 1991), 76.

Bristol, Colchester, Exeter, Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle.[188] The London School of Pharmacy was also established in the same year as the Society. Soon after a number of other schools were opened, and one of which, in Liverpool, was established after an inspirational visit from the Society leader Jacob Bell.[189] From the mid-century, calls for pharmaceutical education had gathered steam, and by 1900 there were twenty-two schools established across the country.[190] Only in 1893 was a medical school established as part of the University College of South Wales. A year later, D. R. Paterson was appointed on a part-time basis as lecturer of materia medica at the Cardiff School of Medicine.[191] Paterson's appointment did not seem to satisfy local pharmacists, who in 1902, were noted as making 'efforts to secure the establishment of a pharmacy class at Cardiff'.[192] It may be argued that developing pharmaceutical education in Cardiff was not a major priority for the Pharmaceutical Society. Perhaps it can be suggested that the Society were reluctant to support Cardiff-based professionals due to their lack of growth and organisation during the profession's formative years.

To encourage professional growth, the Society often gave grants to developing the organised local societies. To cite an example, local societies in Bath, Bristol, Norwich and Manchester were granted funds. Additionally, leading members of the Society travelled to these areas to give lectures, and pass down 'much advice' about professionalisation.[193] In comparison to many of the societies established across Britain,

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[188] Hudson and Boylan, *The School of Pharmacy*, p. 34.

[189] ibid., p. 35.

[190] ibid., p. 45.

[191] *South Wales Daily News*, 8 March 1894, p. 6.

[192] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Series IV, Vol XIV, 1902-03, p. 113.

[193] Holloway, *Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain*, p.110.

the organisation of a Cardiff-based society took substantially longer to initiate. As the years went by, growing numbers of local societies were formed. The groups mentioned above were later joined by further societies in Dover, Dundee, Glasgow, Hull, Leeds, Leicester, Nottingham, Oldham and Sheffield.[194] From their regular correspondence with the Society via the *Pharmaceutical Journal*, these local societies became far more likely to gain attention. In 1891 the Pharmaceutical Society held a conference in Cardiff with a view to stimulating professional growth. The attendance figures from the conference were impressive. According to accounts, 200 people attended the gathering and among those in attendance were local chemists, Jacob Hughes, W. R. Hopkins, W. D. John.[195] At the conference, Cardiff chemists discussed the idea of forming a local society. Speaking on behalf of his peers, John Munday vowed that 'before long a local association at Cardiff would be formed'.[196] Despite this promise, it would take another nine years before this was made into a reality. Under the presidency of Albert Hagon, with John Munday as the treasurer, a chemist's association for the Cardiff and district was formed in 1900.[197] Until this date, communications between chemists and druggists could not be streamlined. Without an established local society before 1900, chemists and druggists were very much left to their own devices. They were, like many quack and alternative medicine vendors of the day, loners. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that some chemists and druggists had different motives and aspirations. Later in this chapter, the motives of practitioners will be discussed more thoroughly.

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[194] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Series II, Vol IX, 1867-68, p. V.

[195] *Barry Dock News*, 21 August 1891, p. 2

[196] *Western Mail*, 20 August 1891, p. 7.

[197] *South Wales Daily News*, 26 October 1900, p. 3.

In the years leading up to 1900, the lack of organisation shown in Cardiff did not go unnoticed by the Pharmaceutical Society, and the town's professionals were criticised for failing to come together. In 1896, the Society took to the *Pharmaceutical Journal* to scold the town's professionals, stating that it was 'remarkable that in the town of Cardiff there should be an absence of such organisation'.[198] This criticism came after an unqualified drug vendor was blamed for the death of a local townsperson. According to the journal, incidents of this kind 'showed the necessity of local co-operation'. In the column, the Cardiff professionals were furthermore lambasted for their failure to protect the interests of their peers, and for their lack of communication with the press. The journal argued that it was expected that the Cardiff chemists 'would collectively have sufficient influence to protect themselves' and the 'body which they belong to from being misrepresented'.[199]

It ought to be stressed that not all chemists and druggists initially stood with the Pharmaceutical Society. The Society found opposition from practitioners belonging to different organisations. Battle lines were drawn when the United Society of Chemists and Druggists was established in 1860. Bentham noted that the organisation was formed by druggists that were 'unhappy about the Pharmaceutical Society's perceived failure to secure their interests'.[200] Members of the United Society fiercely opposed the Pharmaceutical Society, and often expressed their views on their rivals. Members of the organisation took the *Chemist and Druggist* to argue that their affiliates were 'much more qualified' to practice pharmacy than those who 'styled themselves Members of the

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[198] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, 4 November 1896, p. 364.

[199] ibid., p.364.

[200] Bentham, *The Politics of Drug Control*, p. 66.

Pharmaceutical Society'.[201] According to the *Chemist and Druggist,* there were many 'clever Chemists and Druggists' whose names did not feature on the books of the Pharmaceutical Society.[202] Indeed, records indicate that the Society of United Chemists and Druggists did have a small presence in south Wales throughout the 1860s. Thomas Williams of Llandudno and H. Williams of Usk were both members of United Society. Despite the evidence of this presence however, there are no sources which suggest there were any Cardiff-based members of the United Society.[203] The tensions felt by both sides were set aside by 1868 however, as both organisations were brought together by the 1868 Pharmacy Act.[204]

Towards the end of the century, those who did not formally train as pharmacists were outcast by the authorities within the growing profession. According to the Pharmaceutical Society, only those featured in the Registers of Pharmaceutical Chemists, and Chemists and Druggists were regarded as professionals.[205] Those who attempted to make a living without the necessary qualifications were criticised. In October 1893, a frustrated John Munday took to the *British Medical Journal* to blast those who did not sit pharmacy exams. Munday vented in his account, criticising those who did not train for bringing 'the name of "chemist" into disrepute'.[206] The Pharmaceutical Society took great offence at those who practiced without any qualifications. Not only did the organisation set out to censor those who refused to

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[201] *Chemist and Druggist*, Vol. 4, 49, 15 September 1863, p. 267.

[202] *Chemist and Druggist*, Vol. 4, 44, 15 April 1863, p. 106.

[203] *Chemist and Druggist*, Vol. 2, 19, 15 March 1861, p. 90.

[204] Parssinen, *Secret Passions, Secret Remedies: Narcotic Drugs in British Society, 1820-1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p. 70.

[205] *British Medical Journal,* 28 October, 1893, p. 969.

[206] Ibid., p. 969.

professionalise, but they also penalised vendors who supplied drugs without the necessary qualifications. Some of the more zealous professionals took to local newspapers in order to challenge those who assumed the title of chemist. In 1896, Munday again took to the press, and targeted Aberdare drug proprietor Tudor Williams. In his report, Munday singled out Williams for claiming to be a chemist in his advertisements - something which according to Munday was 'scarcely true' as he did not appear on the registers of the Pharmaceutical Society.[207] In March 1893, the Pharmaceutical Society exercised their authority, and made an example of one Cardiff-based businessman. W. F. Lloyd-Smith of the Thoracine Company's Drug Store was penalised by the Society for selling laudanum without being qualified to do so. It ought be recognised that laudanum was one of a number of preparations that only qualified chemists and druggists could supply. Lloyd-Smith was thereby charged with breaching the Pharmacy Act of 1868. As well as being penalised for breaching the Pharmacy Act, Lloyd-Smith was sued by the Pharmaceutical Society, and ordered to pay a substantial sum of £20 to the society.[208] Counter prescribing of this kind possessed one of the 'biggest problems' for the Society, and in order to 'underline the necessity of specialist pharmaceutical practitioners', they had to make examples of businessman like Smith.[209] As well as receiving competition from uneducated counter prescribers, professionals also faced unwanted competition from quacks and alternative medicine vendors, who as the previous chapter investigated, met the needs of many and overstayed their welcome in the midsts of professionalisation. With their low price points, and noticeable market

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[207] *South Wales Echo*, 7 August 1896, p. 3.

[208] *Evening Express*, 2 March 1893, p. 2.

[209] J. K. Crellin, 'The Growth of Professionalism in Nineteenth-century British Pharmacy', *Medical History*, 11 (1967), 222.

presences, these fringe practitioners tenaciously held on to their place in the market for medical retailing. As the professionalisation process continued to slowly materialise, these market vendors still met a demand in Cardiff - a demand so intense that 'scenes of disorder' broke out among those desperate to purchase their medicines.[210]

Sources suggest that by the 1870s, the requirements needed to apply for a job in a chemist's shop had changed. These requirements were made perfectly clear in a job vacancy advertised by Francis Joy in 1871. Joy's advertisement stated that he was looking for a 'well educated youth', which was perfectly understandable. However, it seems as though Joy was only willing to employ someone under the condition that they were a 'member by examination of the pharmaceutical society'.[211] This snippet from the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* is crucial in demonstrating the changes taking place within the market for medical retailing. This advertisement serves as an indication of how members of the Society were looking out for their fellow professionals. From the advertisement, it is plain to see that professionals narrowed the amount of job opportunities for those without formal qualifications. Indeed, Joy's vacancy advertisement serves as an indication of the changing times. Prior to the establishment of the Pharmaceutical Society in 1841, no educational requirements were needed to become a chemist or druggist. Those who wanted to become chemists and druggists were required to have had 'served a regular apprenticeship' or at least acquired practical experience with a surgeon or druggist.[212] Before 1841, many drug dispensers made livings for themselves without any training or formal qualifications. In his discussion of the pre-professional era, John Hunt reflects upon the journey of John Bell, father of

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[210] *Cardiff Times*, 21 May 1892, p. 7.

[211] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 8 July 1871, p. 4.

[212] *The Cambrian*, 7 September 1833, p. 3.

Jacob, the founder of the Pharmaceutical Society. After years of service with the post office, John Bell became a dispensing druggist. Despite his lack of formal training, Bell managed to become a well-regarded, successful druggist. His success inspired his son to follow suit, and later help form the Pharmaceutical Society.[213] While John Bell's story serves as one of success, it also serves as a reflection of how simple it was to become a chemist and druggist prior to the period of professionalisation.

For some chemists and druggists, the latter half of the nineteenth century proved to be an extremely prosperous period. Some of Cardiff's professionals asserted themselves on the local society, and climbed the social order to reach impressive positions within local the authorities and fraternal organisations. Rather impressively, Cardiff chemist Rees Jones was elected the most honourable position of Mayor of Cardiff in the 1880s.[214] It was suggested that his 'considerable connections with local enterprise' helped him obtain the position.[215] As well as making a living from his own enterprise, Jones was paid handsomely for his services. In 1880, it was reported that Jones earned a salary of £300 from his position as Mayor.[216] Towards the end of the nineteenth century, John Munday also sat on the Cardiff Council. However, before taking his seat on the council, Munday came from humble beginnings. Before his journey to Cardiff, he was an apprentice in the small town of Bridgnorth, near

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[213] John A. Hunt, *Pharmacy in the Modern World, 1841 to 1986 AD* from Stuart Anderson, *Making Medicines: A Brief History of Pharmacy and Pharmaceuticals* (London: Pharmaceutical Press, 2005), p. 77.

[214] Cardiff Records Vol. 5, Cardiff Council Minutes (1879-1881), 9 November, 1880, (Unpaginated).

[215] *Western Mail*, 29 November 1880, p. 3.

[216] Cardiff Records Vol. 5, Cardiff Council Minutes (1879-1881), 9 November, 1880, (Unpaginated).

Shropshire.[217] After his qualification, Munday left the town of 7000 people, and set his sights on Cardiff, which due to the coal, steel and copper industries was expanding in to a substantial metropolis.[218] Brave as this may have seemed, this kind of move was not uncommon, according to Roy Porter. Throughout the period, many chemists and druggists moved towards urbanised settlements with rapidly expanding populations.[219] Like many others in his time, Munday acted upon his business instincts and got involved in 'the scatter of small enterprise' which followed the growing urban social map.[220] This was indeed a bold move from Munday. As alluded to earlier in this research, a prosperous life was not guaranteed for any professionals moving to heavily populated towns.

Across the 1880s and 90s, John Munday achieved upward social mobility and became a well-known figure in the community. He established himself as an administrator, a druggist and an entrepreneur. Munday expanded his enterprise by securing patents for cod liver oil, liver pills, insect powder and viridine. In the same period, Munday held several highly esteemed positions. By 1895, he acquired a seat on the Cardiff Council and rubbed shoulders with renowned brewer, S. A. Brain.[221] Munday was a free mason, and became an enviable figure within the brotherhood after his promotion to Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in 1895.[222] In gaining this

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[217] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Series III, Vol. III, 1872-73, p. 793.

[218] Statistical Society of London, *Digest of the English Census of 1871*, Great Britain Census Office, (1873), p. 182.

[219] Roy Porter, *Drugs and Narcotics in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 82.

[220] Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, *The Petite Bourgeoisie in Europe 1780-1914: Enterprise, Family and Independence* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 116.

[221] *Weekly Mail*, 16 November 1895, p. 8.

[222] *South Wales Daily News*, 17 May 1895, p. 7.

promotion, brother Munday became a member of the select few who were recognised as 'men of prominence'.[223] In 1899, Munday was again promoted. This time, to the position of honorary secretary of the Cardiff Committee.[224] Munday's philanthropic deeds and contributions to 'deserving charities' secured him furthermore respectability in the area.[225] In 1899 Munday aided the war effort by donating gifts, comforts and £21 to wounded soldiers who fought in the Second Boer War.[226]

Despite the success of some outside of the chemist shop, many still faced criticism from other medical professionals. Every so often, trained physicians took to newspapers such as the *South Wales Daily News* to aim their criticism at pharmacists, druggists and chemists. In one column published in 1877, druggists and chemists were condemned for their 'incompetence', and for being 'devoid of even a shadow of medical training'. The column further criticised dispensers for 'playing the part of the shopkeeper', which was neither 'honourable or lucrative on the part of a scientific profession'.[227] In a separate report published in 1892, doctors held a Cardiff chemist responsible for the death of an infant. The inquest surrounding the death of Emily Hurley was concluded by the coroner's opinion that she passed away from Bronchitis. However, after local doctors discussed the nature of her death, it was agreed that had Emily Hurley 'been properly treated, she would have recovered'. In holding a local chemist responsible for the incident, the coroner asserted that 'if the deceased had been

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[223] Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire: Freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717- 1927* (North Carolina: UNC Books Press, 2012), p. 6.

[224] *Evening Express*, 25 November 1899, p. 2.

[225] Janet Phillips and Peter Phillips, *Victorians at Home and Away* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 66.

[226] *Evening Express*, 25 November 1899, p. 2.

[227] *South Wales Daily News*, 18 December 1877, p. 4

treated by a doctor, she would probably have lived'.[228] In the report, the coroner argued that druggists had 'no business' to prescribe medicines, especially 'when they did not know the nature of the complaint'. As Hilary Marland has noted, counter-prescribing was often criticised by physicians as a 'most serious infringement of the rights and prerogatives of regular practitioners'.[229] In hindsight, seeing a doctor may have saved Emily Hurley's life. However, it must be stressed that despite the rise in real wages, not all families throughout the period had the resources to consult a doctor.[230] It ought to be recognised that doctors were paid solely for their services, and not what drugs they dispensed or prescribed.[231] The fees that doctors charged were often too much for many families to pay, hence why many approached chemists and druggists in search of quick and affordable cures. Rising wages did, however, give Cardiffians the extra income to purchase consumer goods, pills and potions.[232] The reaction to Emily Hurley's death provides an insight in to the bitterness felt by medical doctors against chemists and druggists. Many medical doctors did not recognise chemists and druggists as worthy practitioners. For much of the nineteenth century, the 'corner druggist' was recognised as the 'direct competition' of the general practitioner.[233]

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[228] *South Wales Daily News*, 13 May 1892, p. 6.

[229] Hilary Marland, 'The 'Doctor's Shop': The Rise of the Chemist and Druggist in Nineteenth-Century Manufacturing Districts' from Louise Hill-Curth, *From Physick to Pharmacology: Five Hundred Years of British Drug Retailing* (Ashgate Publishing, 2006), p. 101.

[230] Richard S. Tedlow and Geoffrey G. Jones, *The Rise of Mass Marketing* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 110.

[231] *South Wales Daily News*, 18 December 1877, p. 4.

[232] Kenneth Morgan, *The Birth of Industrial Britain: 1750-1850* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 31.

[233] Berridge, *Health and Medicine* from Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain*, p. 181.

Long before the incident involving the death of Emily Hurley, doctors voiced their concerns on the process of drug vending. *The Lancet* argued that counter prescribing was a form of 'irregular privateering' which prevented the medical man from making a living.[234] George Higby asserts that after the passing of the 1852 Pharmacy Act, doctors became more weary of druggists and chemists. The Act was one of the first pieces of legislation that granted regulatory powers to the Pharmaceutical Society. Indeed, many doctors feared that 'a regulated body of chemists and druggists-educated, examined and licensed-would provide an even greater competition, perhaps "tenfold" in counter practice and the treatment of disease'.[235] Additionally, Cardiff doctors may have also felt threatened by the growing numbers of chemists and druggists. By mid-century, it was estimated that in some areas of the nation, there were two doctors to every chemist and druggist.[236] After extensive research, it can be concluded that the recorded numbers of Cardiff-based professionals changed drastically towards the end of the century. The Register of Pharmaceutical Chemists, and Chemists and Druggists [1885] recorded forty-four Cardiff-based professionals.[237] By the time the 1887 UK Medical Register was recorded, fifty-seven doctors were registered as practicing in Cardiff.[238] Indeed, the nation-wide growth of the pharmaceutical profession, paired with fears that the chemists were 'cutting the doctor out of the

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[234] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Series III, Vol XI, 1880-81, p. 735.

[235] Gregory Higby, *Apothecaries and the Drug Trade: Essays in Celebration of the Work of David L. Cowen*, (Wisconsin: American Institute of the History of Pharmacy, 2001), p. 57.

[236] Marland, 'The 'Doctor's Shop'' from Hill-Curth, *From Physick to Pharmacology*, p. 85.

[237] Statistics gathered from The Register of Pharmaceutical Chemists, and Chemists and Druggists, 1885, 2-277.

[238] Statistics gathered from 1887 UK Medical Register,1-1050.

medical transaction', certainly created tension between the two professions.[239] These tensions were often felt, and even occasionally expressed by chemists and druggists. In a society dinner held at the Angel Hotel in December 1890, John Munday and another local chemist, known only as Mr. Smyth, made their frustrations known in front of an audience. The two were recalled to have 'occupied the chair' at the dinner, and gave speeches which paid reference to the medical doctors 'encroaching on the chemists' domains'. The exact words used in the speech were not fully transcribed, but from the evidence obtained it is clear to see that there were tensions felt on both sides.[240]

In his studies of professional pharmacy in nineteenth century Britain, J. K. Crellin has argued that the one of the 'truly enormous' tasks faced by the pharmaceutical profession was 'clarifying its function' within the medical world.[241] Along with the 'extensive problem' caused by counter prescribing was the issue surrounding the 'confusing and unsatisfactory situation' created by apothecaries, who were still freely dispensing medicines throughout the period. Indeed, many chemists and druggists refused to share the medical retail market with apothecaries. As Crellin reminds us, the foundation of the Pharmaceutical Society was 'precipitated by a bill which proposed putting chemists and druggists under the control of apothecaries'.[242] This information would certainly suggest that boundaries were raised between druggists and chemists, and apothecaries. However, sources suggest that a number of Cardiff-based practitioners were professionally recognised as both druggists and apothecaries.

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[239] Marland, 'The 'Doctor's Shop'' from Hill-Curth, *From Physick to Pharmacology*, p. 80.

[240] *South Wales Daily News*, 5 December 1890, p. 6.

[241] J. K. Crellin, 'The Growth of Professionalism in Nineteenth-century British Pharmacy', 222.

[242] ibid., 216.

In a report published by the *South Wales Daily News* in 1876, Richard Mumford was reported to have passed the Pharmaceutical Society's minor examination and the Apothecaries Hall dispenser's examination.[243] It ought to be recognised that Mumford was not the only practitioner to hold both qualifications. George Knox, son of Cardiff chemist Nathaniel Knox, held both qualifications too.[244] It certainly appears that both Mumford and Knox were dedicated practitioners who were committed to safe and responsible dispensing.

In examining the extent to which drug vendors were wholly dedicated to professionalisation, Virginia Berridge has argued that the efforts made by the likes of the Pharmaceutical Society were not made 'in response to strong demands from druggists and chemists'.[245] The 'professionalising process', Berridge notes, was simply an attempt made by an 'influential sector' to 'regulate and control' the rest of the pharmaceutical trade.[246] Indeed, it may be asserted that some druggists and chemists may not have bought in to the idea of professionalisation. From the evidence presented earlier in the chapter, it is known that drug vendors such as W. F. Smith and Tudor Williams did not train to become professionalized. Perhaps it may be argued that these men refused to train because of the financial obligations that were associated with being a professional. For a start, those who wanted to sit the Society's exams had to pay three guineas to do so.[247] Additionally, these vendors may not have felt obliged to pay

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[243] *South Wales Daily News*, 11 May 1876, p. 6.

[244] *Evening Express*, 26 March 1897, p. 3.

[245] Virginia Berridge, *Health and Medicine* from F. M. L Thompson*, The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950, Volume 3, Social Agencies and Institutions,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 181.

[246] Ibid., p. 181.

[247] *Pharmaceutical Society and Transactions*, Series III, Vol VI, 1875-76, p. 480.

subscription fees towards the Society's benevolent fund. Indeed, these may be some of the many reasons why many drug vendors felt 'little desire to become the professional men'.[248]

From the nature of their business endeavours, it appears that some of Cardiff's 'professionalised' chemists and druggists were shrewd businessmen who looked to expand their trade beyond pills and potions. Across the period, many chemists and druggists 'adopted flexible marketing strategies' that involved exploring other business opportunities. Reflecting on the entrepreneurship of chemists and druggists, Holloway argues that there was 'no such creature as a typical chemist and druggist'.[249] Indeed, John Munday in particular was a druggist who clearly had financial and entrepreneurial aspirations. As well as selling his own pills and remedies, Munday was also a retailer for fast-moving consumer goods such as 'Premier Cigars' and elastic stockings.[250] He explored a number of different markets, and even once applied to register a trademark for a scented perfume. Munday was as much an entrepreneur as he was a chemist and druggist. He was one of the thousands who were 'always on the lookout for new types of custom.[251] As well as exploring different markets, his business interests explored different parts of Britain and Europe. According to the *1899 Cardiff and District Trades Directory*, Munday occupied more business addresses than any other druggist and chemist in the area. Along with the entries for his two Cardiff businesses, Munday rather needlessly paid for the entry of his others in Westminster and Paris. To further

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[248] Berridge, *Health and Medicine* from Thompson, *Cambridge Social History of Britain*, p. 181.

[249] Holloway, *Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain*, p. 52.

[250] *South Wales Daily News*, 1 March 1884, p. 3.

[251] *The Western Mail*, 21 October 1899, p. 3; Holloway, *Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain*, p. 52.

assert his dominance, Munday paid for his business entries to be printed in bold, which was considered a 'crude indicator of success'.[252] Munday's business books and personal papers would have informed this study of much more than what has already been shown. However, these sources have not survived. Despite not having these sources to hand, his business endeavours, his rise through the social ranks and his striking, frequent advertising shows that he was one of the dominant figures of Cardiff's market for retailing medicines. Although Munday oversaw more businesses than his peers, he was not the only multiple business owner. David Anthony, William Sanders and Alfred Coleman a number of shops in the area.[253] While some saw the of opening more shops as a worthy investment, others opted to invest in better production facilities for their pills. To cite an example. In 1898, Jacob Hughes invested in a number of 'machines and appliances' that helped him to produce more of his 'world renowned' pills.[254]

Records held at the Glamorgan Archives suggest that some of Cardiff's chemists and druggists prioritised the safety of dispensing drugs as opposed to chasing their next business opportunity. As these sources suggest, Robert Drane maintained high standards within his business, and established extremely strict rules for preparing drugs. Drane's rules stipulated that all dangerous chemicals had to be checked, and measured twice by two separate assistants before being handed over the counter. Additionally, Drane prohibited any drug of 'stale or questionable quality or purity' from leaving his shop. It is plain to see that Drane approached his role with caution, and prioritised the health of

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[252] *Cardiff and District Trades Directory, 1899*, p. 21.; Jennifer Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth Century England: Engagement in the Urban Economy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 8.

[253] *Cardiff and District Trades Directory, 1899*, p. 21.

[254] *Barry Dock News*, 14 October 1898, p. 5.

his customers. This was certainly illustrated in his eleventh rule, which stated if any errors were made in the preparation of medicines, assistants had to rectify them with Drane, personally. These sources suggest that Drane was equally as cautious when it came to hygienic dispensing. His final rule stated 'all bottles, wrappers and labels, to be clean and new - not used a second time', and that no 'specs, statins or blots' were allowed to be found in any medicine bottles.[255] Indeed, there were harsh consequences for anyone who dispensed medicines against Drane's regulations. Any assistant found to have violated the rules was to be 'dismissed without usual terms of notice'.[256] Drane's records stand as proof that not all professionalised chemists and druggists were obsessed with 'achieving monopoly'.[257] While Drane's rules illustrate his emphasis of safe dispensing, they also tell us that there was little room for error in preparing drugs for public consumption. Certainly, a botched prescription could be fatal to the career of any chemist and druggist. Those found guilty of dispensing poor quality medicines or dangerous substances were at risk of violating the stipulations of the 1868 Pharmacy Act.[258] It appears that Drane faced no such threat from this. His professional attitude won support from many admirers. His careful and vigilant approach to dispensing medicines gained him a reputation for being 'arguably a most respectable and reputable chemist'.[259]

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[255] Glamorgan Archives, D147/2/5C, Robert Drane's Rules for Dispensing, (Unpaginated).

[256] Glamorgan Archives, D147/2/5B, Robert Drane's Rules for Dispensing, (Unpaginated).

[257] Ian Burnley, *Poison, Detection and the Victorian Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 61.

[258] Holloway, *Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain*, p. 280.

[259] *Cardiff Times*, 21 October 1876, p. 5.

It has been argued that the pharmaceutical profession was 'one of the few medical groups to emerge' during the nineteenth century.[260] To a certain extent, this was true. However, for a number of reasons explained in this chapter, the profession in Cardiff emerged at a slower rate in comparison to many areas. As discussed in this chapter, the lack of educational provisions and the delay in the formation of a local society damaged professional growth. The urgency required to unite local professionals was seemingly missing, which as this chapter suggests, may have discouraged the Pharmaceutical Society from making inroads in to the town. Initially, the dearth of registered apprentices in Cardiff made professionalisation look bleak, and ever more unlikely. When apprentices were finally registered in the town, the support required to develop their skills was inconsistently delivered. While professionalisation was slowly ongoing, the Pharmaceutical Society did what was necessary to eliminate the threat from those who refused to professionalise. As shown in this chapter, those who had no desire to join the process often faced the consequences. The protracted nature of professionalisation left breathing space for quack and alternative medicine vendors. As demonstrated in chapter one, the town's irregular medicine vendors benefitted greatly from the slow process of professionalisation. They were the 'stiff competition' who overstayed their welcome on the fringes of the market for medical retailing.[261] As revealed in this chapter, the priorities of some professionals were very different to others. Druggists like Robert Drane stood as a model of pharmaceutical practice. He was vigilant in his approach to dispensing, and emphasised the importance of maintaining a high standard of hygiene in his shop. Many other professionals exhibited

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[260] Hill-Curth, *From Physick to Pharmacology*, p. 85.

[261] Marland, *Medicine and Society in Wakefield and Huddersfield*, p. 243.

more entrepreneurial instincts, which suggested their aspirations for financial control. As well as appearing to stand in support of the Pharmaceutical Society, John Munday was also an entrepreneur who ventured in to several areas of the health and beauty market. Munday certainly made his mark on society. He obtained wealth through his business endeavours and respectability through his philanthropic deeds and his status within the local establishment. From the sources examined in this chapter, it seems as though professionals such as Drane and Munday had different aims and objectives. Indeed, if the objectives of Cardiff's druggists and chemists were more similar, professionalisation may have occurred at a far quicker rate.

CHAPTER 3

'Health is the First Wealth'[262]

Medicine Advertising in the Cardiff Newspaper Press

In October 1873, chemist William Cross boldly claimed that his gout and rheumatic pills were an 'astonishing cure' which gave 'magical relief' to those who suffered from lumbago, sciatica, loins, chills and paralysis.[263] The hyperbolic nature of medicine advertisements like this were notorious by the nineteenth century, and as a result, drug proprietors were criticised for their attempts to convince the public that 'no matter what was wrong, it can be set right' by purchasing their drugs.[264] The following will analyse the ways in which proprietary medicines were advertised in the Cardiff newspapers and periodicals. This chapter will examine a range of advertising techniques that were adopted to market the pills and remedies sold by some of Cardiff's drug proprietors. The promotional techniques under analysis will vary from bold, repetitious text, to written testimonies, to the detailed imagery used to capture the imaginations of both the literate and illiterate. While the following will examine how medicine was advertised, it will also assess the impact medicine advertising made on the local press, and the extent to which that impact may have been influential on the changing form and production output of local newspapers. In capitalising on the financial opportunities associated with advertising, local press merchants adjusted their marketing charges and opened their

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[262] Quotation extracted from an advertisement for Tudor Williams', 'Balsam of Honey', *Cardiff Times*, 26 November 1896, p. 4.

[263] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian, Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 4 October 1873, p. 2.

[264] Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (California: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 187.

columns up for more expansive forms of promotion. This research will discuss the extent to which these changes were influenced by the experimental advertising techniques adopted by drug proprietors. Of course, this chapter cannot definitively prove that the medicine advertisement was the catalyst for these changes. However, it can raise the point, more as a strong possibility, that they were highly influential to the transformation of the local newspaper and growth of the local press.

Over the course of the twentieth century, a number of historically informed studies of proprietary medicine advertising have surfaced. Terry Nevett has contributed to this topic by examining the ways in which advertisers attempted to develop and maximise communications with their target audiences. In his study, Nevett explores the relationships between the newspapers and the advertisers, and assesses the ways in which drug promoters were able to secure advertising deals that were financially beneficial for them. Roy Church's examination of advertising techniques have contributed greatly to the understanding of pill advertising. Church's study discusses the psychological impact made by testimonies, and how advertisers adopted them to capture the emotions of the consumer .[265] As well as providing information on current affairs, and incidents related to the local community, the local newspaper provided advertisers with a platform from which they could market their goods. The use of these fascinating sources will help illustrate how drug proprietors were able to capitalise on the financial opportunities that arose with the changing nature of advertising. The probing of these advertisements will thereby demonstrate the ways in which local drug proprietors and

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[265] For some details related to patent medicine and pill advertising see Terry Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History* (London: Heinemann, 1982); Roy Church 'Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth Century Britain: Reinterpretations', *Economic History Review*, 54, 4 (2000), 621-645 ; Anne Digby, *Making a Medical Living: Doctors and Patients in the English Market Place for Medicine, 1720-1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

pharmaceutical professionals promoted their wares. This area of the study will reference a number of Cardiff's heaviest and most prevalent drug advertisers, notably John Munday, Jacob Hughes and Samuel Penrose Kernick. The following will assess the extent to which Thomas Holloway influenced many advertisers, including these local chemists.

The giants of the patent medicine industry are historically recognised as the 'largest newspaper advertisers' of the Victorian period.[266] Pill maker and patentee Thomas Holloway (1800-1883), set the precedent for all patent medicine men by consistently and drastically increasing his annual spending on advertising. In 1842, he spent £5,000 on his advertisements. By the time of his death in 1883, his pill enterprise strengthened significantly, with an astonishing £50,000 being spent on advertising.[267] Certainly, Holloway was not the only patent medicine figurehead to increase his advertising budgets in the period. Thomas Beecham (1820-1907) more than doubled the amount spent by Holloway's company, allocating £120,000 on advertising in 1891.[268] True, these two medicine giants set the standard for advertisers across Victorian Britain, but they also encouraged many others to spend great amounts to publicise their pills and potions. It has been estimated that by the end of the nineteenth century, British drug proprietors spent around £2,000,000 per year on advertising.[269] The substantial revenue

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[266] Mandy Bentham, *The Politics of Drug Control* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), p. 66.

[267] Virginia Berridge, 'Health and Medicine' from Francis M. Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950, Volume 3, Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 191.

[268] Richard S. Tedlow and Geoffrey G. Jones, *The Rise and Fall of Mass Marketing* (London: RLE Marketing, 2014), p. 110.

[269] Joan Lane, *A Social History of Medicine: Healing, Health and Disease in England, 1750-1950* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 166.

brought in by the patent medicine pioneers encouraged many others to attempt to secure patents. In 1874, approximately 12,000 medicine vendors applied for licences to sell their wares. This number further increased, and by 1895 as many as 20,000 medicine proprietors applied for licenses to sell their pills, potions and elixirs.[270] Many Cardiff and south Wales-based medicine vendors attempted to make names for themselves by advertising in the local newspapers. The variety of advertising techniques adopted by chemists, druggists and drug vendors eventually forced their way on to the pages of the local papers, and helped to shape advertising in Wales' 'new commercial world'.[271] These drug advertisers were riding on the crest of this new commercial world, and taking advantage of the opportunities offered by newspapers. In a time when respectability was becoming a 'widespread aspiration', medicine proprietors attempted to influence the market by using respectable people to advertise their goods.[272] This popular marketing technique will be examined more thoroughly in this chapter.

Proprietary medicines advertisements were vitally important in generating revenue. While we cannot absolutely prove that they were the sole force that changed the appearance of the newspaper, and indeed the growth of its production output, we can suggest that this may have been highly likely. Medical promotions became more frequent features on the business pages of local newspapers, and while these promotions were multiplying, so were the amounts of places in which these newspapers became available. To cite an example, in 1858, the *Cardiff Times* was only available in

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[270] Bentham, *Politics of Drug Control*, p. 67.

[271] Russell Davies, *Hope and Heartbreak: A Social History of Wales and the Welsh, 1776-1871* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), p. 76.

[272] Church 'Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth Century Britain', 633.

newsagents and railways stations in Cardiff, Newport and Monmouthshire.[273] In the edition from Christmas Day in the same year, only two advertisements for proprietary medicines featured on the newspaper's business address column. One was published in promotion of Kaye's Wordsell's Pills, and the other in advertisement of Devonald's Anti-bilious Pills.[274] Slowly but surely, the number of advertisements that appeared in the business column of the paper had multiplied. Several years later in an 1862 edition of the *Cardiff Times*, there were as many as nine advertisements from drug proprietors.[275] By 1865, the publishers of the *Cardiff Times* widened their markets, and the paper became available to purchase across much of the United Kingdom. By this point, there were seven agents of the *Cardiff Times* in south Wales, with further stockists in Edinburgh and Liverpool. Moreover, there were a further twenty newsagents selling the *Cardiff Times* in London.[276] By 1870, the people of Glasgow, Manchester and Dublin were able to purchase the *Cardiff Times* from their local markets and newsagents.[277] During the same period, the number of advertisements featured in the Cardiff newspapers continued to rise. For example, in an edition printed in April, 1878 the *Cardiff Times,* there were as many as eighteen medicine advertisements.[278] Of course, it is worth noting that medicine promotions were not the only advertisements to feature on the paper's business address column. Proprietary medicines shared the advertising spaces with scatters of other promotions which were posted by local firms,

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[273] *Cardiff Times*, 23 October 1858, p. 4.

[274] *Cardiff Times*, 25 December 1858, p.1.

[275] *Cardiff Times*, 18 July 1862, pp. 2-6.

[276] *Cardiff Times*, 14 April 1865, p. 8.

[277] *Cardiff Times*, 19 February 1870, p. 3.

[278] *Cardiff Times*, 27 April 1878, p. 1.

businesses and wholesalers. However, these advertisements were not always as pervasive as the medicine advertisement. The broadsheet featured on the page following [see Fig. 3.1.] best illustrates the striking nature of the proprietary medicine advertisements. This example has been taken from an 1885 edition of the *Cardiff Times*, and features a number of promotions from Cardiff chemists John Munday and Samuel Penrose - Kernick. [279] By the end of the century, the wider distribution of affordable papers like the *Cardiff Times* helped to 'alter the balance' of power between newspapers. Indeed, this shift in power was said to have loosened the grip held by 'centres of the periodical publications' such as London and Edinburgh.[280]

[279] *Cardiff Times,* 20 June 1885, p. 1.

[280] Laurel Brake, Marysa Deemor (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (Boston: Academia Press, 2009), p. 441.

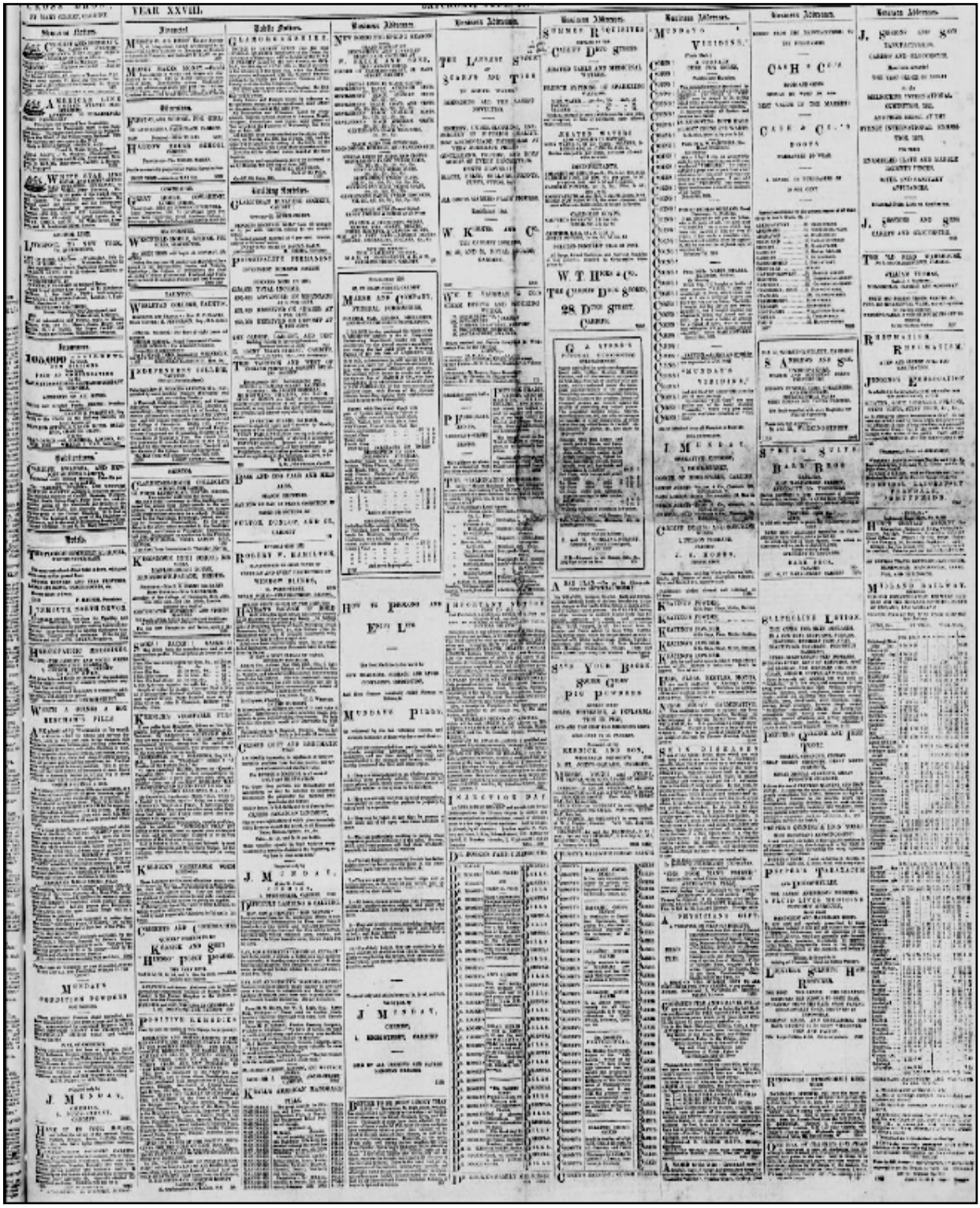

Fig. 3.1. Business address page of the *Cardiff Times*, 1885.[281]

Quite simply, marketing and advertising became a crucial component in the success of the nineteenth-century newspaper. As the works of Aled Jones maintain, advertisements were the 'key to success' for local newspapers, and not sales. In his

[281] *Cardiff Times,* 20 June 1885, p. 1.

studies, Jones argues that without the financial support from local advertisers, the 'chances of a newspapers survival was slim'.[282] As stressed in the research above, without the revenue drawn from medicine advertising, it is reasonable to suggest the possibility that papers like the *Cardiff Times* may not have reached such a wide audience. Peter Bartrip's research has supported this suggestion, and made note of the 'large expansion of newspapers titles after 1855' which were funded by advertisements for proprietary medicines. Bartrip's analysis also estimated that by 1880 patent medicines 'supported as many as 1,000 owners (of newspapers) and 19,000 employees'.[283] While Mark Hampton acknowledges the impact made by advertising, he argues that 'technological and economic developments deserve mention' when discussing the expansion of the newspaper press. Hampton explains that the 'increased attention to news gathering', and the lowering costs of paper helped make massed circulation a greater possibility.[284] Certainly, the cheaper costs for raw materials and the production methods adopted by the Ely Paper Works were also components in creating a wider market for the *Cardiff Times*.[285] However, without the revenue generated from advertising, and certainly the promotion of proprietary medicines, it is difficult to estimate the extent to which owners of the *Cardiff Times* would have had the finances to afford such technological advancements.

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[282] Aled Jones, 'Print, Language and Identity: Newspapers in Wales Since 1804' 68th *IFL Council and General Conference*, (2002), 2.

[283] *History Today*, Vol 40, 9, September 1990, p. 47.

[284] Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950* (Illinois: Illinois University Press, 2004), p. 36.

[285] *Cardiff Times,* 26 June 1880, p. 3. Also, see Berridge, 'Health and Medicine' from Thompson (ed.), *Cambridge Social History of Britain*, p. 191.

From studying the ways in which advertisers were charged for their promotions, it is clear that advertising became a major priority for the daily newspapers. In order to capitalise on the expansive nature of advertising, the promotional charges were continuously altered, rising substantially from the 1850s onwards. At the beginning of the period in question, David Duncan and William Ward, the initial proprietors of the *Cardiff Times* assured advertisers that their promotions would be inserted on the 'most reasonable terms', and at prices that met the 'requirements of all classes' of advertisers.[286] However, as medicine advertisements became more pervasive, the Cardiff paper took a different approach to promotional activity. Accordingly in 1863, the *Cardiff Times* charged one shilling for any advertisement measured at a length of twenty-four words or under. Then, for every additional eight words, a further 3d. was charged.[287] This 'traditional manner' of advertising made way, and eventually gifted 'greater freedom' to the advertiser.[288] Of course, the heavier, and more substantial advertisements came at a much larger price. As the advertisement became a far more dominant feature of the newspaper, the publishers again adjusted their promotional fees. By 1898, Duncan and Sons charged advertisers based on the number of lines and inches required for their advertisements. The Westgate Street publishers charged much as 6d. per line, and 6s. per inch to market their products.[289] From adjusting their pricing methods, proprietors of local newspapers were placed in to a position where they were able to entice ambitious advertisers to pay larger sums of money in order to acquire larger volumes of advertising space. With the old payment system in place, medicine

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[286] *Cardiff Times*, 24 September 1859, p. 3.

[287] *Cardiff Times*, 8 May 1863, p. 3.

[288] Terry Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History* (London: Heinemann, 1982), p. 84.

[289] *Cardiff Times*, 16 April 1898, p. 8.

advertisers could potentially pay less money, and still acquire more space for their promotions. By charging more expensive rates to those looking to elaborately advertise their goods by inches (or lines) the publishers were therefore maximising the spaces offered to advertisers. Terry Nevett has argued that although these inflated prices were in place, they did not stop advertisers from bartering with publishers with the intention of fully promoting their wares on a grand scale. Nevett notes that advertisers often paid more than the 'equivalent classified rate' so that they were able to 'enjoy the greater creative freedom'.[290]Although there is currently no evidence to suggest such bidding wars took place between advertisers, it is reasonable to believe that this may have happened.

Gillian Dyer maintains the idea that some newspaper editors were 'reluctant to open their papers' to new types of advertisements that were created to 'disrupt the design of the page'.[291] It may be argued that those in charge of the *Cardiff Times* felt no such reluctance. In moving with the times, and with the changing nature of the newspaper, owners of the *Cardiff Times* invested in printing machinery that was 'fitted with the most modern patent improvements'. In 1859, the *Cardiff Times* addressed a column at their 'advertising friends', telling them of the changes in machinery.[292] Then again in 1866 the owners of the Cardiff newspaper 'applied a new powerful steam engine' to their printing machinery.[293] The Wards recognised that there were financial opportunities to be had, and, like many other proprietors of the period, they were eager

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[290] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History*, p. 84.

[291] Gillian Dyer, *Advertising as Communication* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 24.

[292] *Cardiff Times*, 9 April 1859, p. 2.

[293] *Cardiff Times*, 25 May 1866, p. 5.

to turn their papers into 'commercial enterprises'.[294] The owners of the newspaper recognised that their enterprise 'could not exist for a single day' without the revenue generated from advertising.[295] Eventually, at the end of period in question, the format of the newspaper transformed drastically. The strict system of columns seen in papers of the past seemed like a distant memory. As shown on the page following [see Fig. 3.2.], proprietary medicine men had increased their dominant position on the broadsheet. By 1900 their methods of advertising became more pervasive than ever before. Advertisements for Dr Williams' Pink Pills were in every sense of words, the centre of attention. The width of this advertisement is the equivalent of three columns, making it a piece that cannot go unnoticed. As such, the advertisement serves as a reflection of the changing nature of advertisements. The repetitious methods that once allowed drug proprietors to advertise 'quickly and more decisively', became 'more and more unfashionable', and eventually made way for striking forms of advertising. [296]

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[294] Hannah Baker, *Newspapers and English Society 1695-1855* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 82.

[295] *Cardiff Times*, 9 April 1859, p. 2.

[296] Dyer, *Advertising as Communication*, p. 27.


GARDEN AND FIELD.
With Hints on Poultry and Stock.
By COUNTRY COUSIN.
How to Grow Glaxinias.
Forced Radishes.
DR. WILLIAMS' PINK PILLS strengthen, and only strengthen. They enrich the blood, enabling it to cast out impurities without the weakening effects of purgatives. The cure, besides, lasts: when cured, you stop the medicine and keep well: you do not become a slave to it.
SCIATICA.
THE PAINFUL
Experiences of a Cardiff Blacksmith.
Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People.
DR. WILLIAMS' PINK PILLS are a tonic for men and women. A tonic is a medicine that gives strength to the muscles and spine, improves the appetite, and increases vitality. But tonics often upset digestion, while these pills, on the contrary, give ease and aid to it.
No one has ever been cured by a substitute. If you are offered something else "just as good," or "the same," by a shopman, he is trying to rob you, in money and in health too. Thousands have been cured by the genuine DR. WILLIAMS' PINK PILLS
No one likes the chatter of the tradesman who pushes substitutes. You can avoid the worry of this, nine times out of ten. Do not ask for merely "Pink Pills": use the full name, or, at all events, specify and insist upon DR. WILLIAMS' PINK PILLS
A SWANSEA TRAVELLER'S AMATORY ADVENTURES.
A Barmaid's Successful Action.
THE ADVENTURE IN THE BRISTOL CHANNEL.
Suspicious Circumstances Disclosed.
CHILDREN'S HOUR,
By LADY GREENSLEEVES.
Our Boys In Blue.
"Take My Life-Belt."
"Beauty and the Birds."

Fig. 3.2. An Advertisement for Dr Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People, 1900.[297]

As newspapers such as the *Cardiff Times* became more available across the country, many of Cardiff's chemists and druggists attempted to compete in the national medicine market by placing special offers on their goods. Pill manufacturers such as Jacob Hughes of Penarth made his 'Blood Pills' available to the wider public by post. According to an advertisement published in 1886, Hughes charged as much as 3d. to those looking to purchase his blood pills by post.[298] As a way of competing with the likes of Hughes, some of Cardiff's pill makers looked to price match the postage rates

[297] *Cardiff Times*, 14 January 1900, p. 7.

[298] *The Monthly Tidings:* A Record of Christian Work Among the Calvinistic Methodists or Presbyterians of Wales, 2, 11 (November, 1886), p. 16.

advertised. Some, including Sanders of City Pharmacy, Cardiff, even offered free postage to customers looking to purchase a box of 'Sanders' Nerve Pills'.[299] Roy Porter argues that many 'owed their success' to these kinds of special offers. Porter demonstrates that the 'seductive names, large promises and money-back-if-not-satisfied guarantees' were the 'common coin' of Victorian proprietary medicine men.[300]

As mentioned above, Thomas Holloway was one of the true patent medicine giants of the nineteenth century. Today, he is widely regarded as 'the pioneer' of advertising in Victorian Britain.[301] Despite being based in London, Holloway often looked to expand his markets, which may have influenced others to do so in the years following. His influential methods of advertising can be detected in the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* from 1847 onwards. Holloway's impact and influence on all medicine advertisers was profound. The detailed imagery and lengthy size of his advertisements did not go unnoticed on the newspaper report. An example of Holloway's marketing techniques can be found in an edition of the *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian* from 1853. Holloway's promotion featured four testimonials, two of which were from chemists. What is more noticeable, however, is the image that accompanies the advertisement [see Fig 3.3., page 98].[302] At the centre of the Holloway's promotion, surrounded by the sick, was the frame of what may be the depiction of a messianic figure with a staff in hand. However, as Verity Holloway later clarified, the

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[299] *The Baptist:* Record the Organ of the English Baptist Sunday School Union of Wales, 3, 34 (January 1900), p. 3.

[300] Roy Porter, *Disease, Medicine and Society in England, 1550-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 42.

[301] R. S. Tedlow & G. G. Jones, *The Rise of and Fall of Mass Marketing* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 110.

[302] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian, Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 5 March 1853, p. 1.

advertisement shows a ‘wise old sage’ surrounded by ‘needy travellers’, who it can be presumed are in need of guidance and enlightenment.[303] From this imagery, it is plain to see that this statement served as a complex metaphor for the efficacy of Holloway’s product. The image implies that just as the lost rely on the wise for advice, the sick should rely on Holloway’s ‘never failing remedy’.[304] Along with this impression, Holloway’s ointment also proclaimed to cure thirty-three different ailments. This was a quite typical feature of the proprietary medicine advertisement, and one of which was adopted by many of Cardiff’s drug proprietors. As well as serving as a reflection of Holloway’s influence on patent medicine advertising, this detailed promotion may serve as an indication of his wealth. As Nevett explained, up until the end of the nineteenth century, it was ‘extremely rare’ to find an illustration within a newspaper. The picture block that was once described as an ‘intolerable monstrosity’ was very rarely utilised.[305] It can be suggested that, among other factors, Holloway’s methods of advertising encouraged the likes of Ward and Duncan of the *Cardiff Times* to re-assess their advertising fees, and invest more in advanced forms of printing machinery in the 1850s and 60s.

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[303] Verity Holloway, *The Mighty Healer: Thomas Holloway’s Victorian Patent Medicine Empire* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books, 2016), p. 152.

[304] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian, Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 5 March 1853, p. 1.

[305] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 80.

Fig. 3.3. An Advertisement for Holloway's Ointment, 1853.[306]

Just as Holloway did years before, a number of Cardiff-based drug proprietors marketed their products using thought-provoking testimonies. Frequently cited as one of the 'many abuses' of patent medicine advertising, this form of promotion was used to advertise pills and remedies in the Cardiff newspaper press and journals.[307] As such, many of Cardiff's medicine proprietors relied on the power of written testimonies to market their products. To execute this style of advertisement, proprietors often called upon, albeit rather dubiously, people of power within the region. The respectable and trustworthy reputations of the great and good were often selling points for advertisers such as J. E. George. In 1900, the Cardiff pill manufacturer relied on the testimony of a well-known magistrate to endorse his products in the local press. In an advertisement published in *The Baptist*, the magistrate was recorded as having praised George's product. According to the advertisement, D. E. Williams, an 'eminent justice of the peace' for Glamorgan and Brecon, endorsed the 'marvellous remedial powers' of George's wares. Williams' testimony claimed that the affluent magistrate looked over hundreds of 'original testimonies' before praising George's pills for 'alleviating the

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[306] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian, Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 5 March 1853, p. 1.

[307] Virginia Berridge, *Public Health in History* (Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill Education, 2011), p. 67.; Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 130.

pains of a multitude of sufferers'.[308] By offering his endorsement of this product, Williams strengthened the advert by assuring the people of the region that George's product was used by a most worthy supporter of order and justice. Alongside his highly regarded character, Williams' claims about the product were utilised in order to shape public opinion. It must be stressed that a justice of the peace was regarded as a truly law-abiding citizen, and anything short of the truth from him would have been unthinkable. Naturally, the dubious nature of these kinds of advertisements have received academic scrutiny. 'Ghost writing', as it has been described by Claire Jones, became a common sales technique practiced by proprietary medicine vendors. The process of gathering genuine written testimonies was long, tedious and often time consuming. Instead of gathering testimonies from ordinary people, many advertisers 'ghost wrote' the testimonies and placed them under the names of 'unknowing individuals'. Another one of the 'quick and easy methods' of advertising was simply to pay members of the general public to make up ludicrous claims about the healing powers of pills and potions.[309] It is certainly reasonable to believe that this may have been the case with the above testimony. This advertisement serves as an example of how Cardiff drug proprietors utilised an early form of celebrity branding to promote the efficacy of their products. Moreover, George's promotion may also serve as an example of how this questionable form of advertising may have been utilised as a way of

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[308] *The Baptist:* Record the Organ of the English Baptist Sunday School Union of Wales, 3, 34 (January 1900), p. 4.

[309] Claire L. Jones, *The Medical Trade Catalogue in Britain, 1870-1914* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 88.

attracting attention. These advertising techniques were nevertheless common, and were regularly published without any forms of consent from the people involved.[310]

This popular form of promotion was often altered by advertisers, and many marketed their goods using supportive testimonies from ordinary people. One Cardiff-based chemist and druggist, Jacob Hughes, often advertised his pills using testimonies from members of the public. In an advertisement published in the *Cardiff Times* in 1894, the efficacy of Hughes' product was supposedly championed by a testimony from William Balwell, of Bristol. From analysing the advertisement, it is plain to see that purchasing Hughes' pills was a something of a life-altering experience for Balwell. Prior to purchasing a box of Hughes' pills, Balwell identified himself as a 'great sufferer' from a multitude of ailments which included 'headaches, indigestion, torpid liver and general debility'. Additionally, and prior to his miraculous recovery, Balwell claimed to have experienced a 'loathing of food', that left him 'reduced to a skeleton'. In the advertisement, Balwall praised Hughes' wares highly, proclaiming they did him more good than 'any other medicine'.[311] Balwell's testimony serves as an indication of how pill makers used their advertisements as an attempt to sympathise with ordinary people. Certainly, this advertisement served to strengthen Hughes' wares, as it informed the Cardiff reader that his products were greatly trusted outside of Wales, thus adding international acclaim to the credibility of his product. Daniel J. Robinson offers an interesting theory behind why advertisers used testimonies from ordinary people. Robinson explains that testimonials from ordinary people could be deemed more influential than those submitted by the great and the good. In his studies, Robinson

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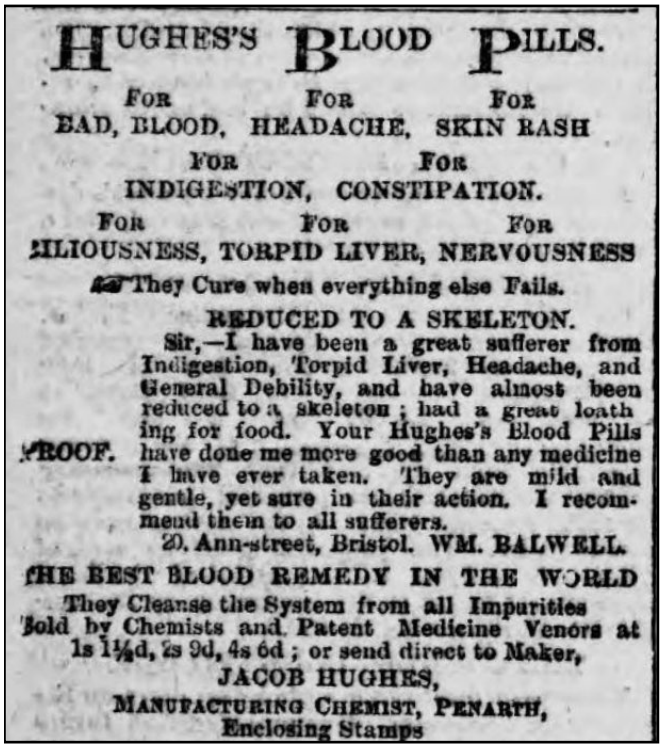
[310] Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, p. 130.

[311] *Cardiff Times*, 12 May 1894, p. 4.

suggests that this method of advertising was a proclamation of the 'sound judgement and good sense of ordinary people'. Newspaper readers simply found comfort from these forms of advertisement, as they 'evoked the tone and spirit or personal advice that one might receive from a helpful neighbour or a family member.'[312] In his advertisement, Hughes reworked another one of the marketing techniques used by his peers, and advertised his blood pills as cure-all drugs. Hughes' advert [see Fig. 3.4.] claimed to cure bad blood, nervousness, headaches and many other ailments. Hughes boldly attempted to convince readers that their lives depended on these drugs, and that there were no substitutes for his products as they were the 'best blood remedy in the world'.[313]



HUGHES'S BLOOD PILLS.

FOR BAD, BLOOD, FOR HEADACHE, FOR SKIN RASH

FOR INDIGESTION, FOR CONSTIPATION.

FOR BILIOUSNESS, FOR TORPID LIVER, FOR NERVOUSNESS

They Cure when everything else Fails.

REDUCED TO A SKELETON.

PROOF.

Sir,—I have been a great sufferer from Indigestion, Torpid Liver, Headache, and General Debility, and have almost been reduced to a skeleton; had a great loathing for food. Your Hughes's Blood Pills have done me more good than any medicine I have ever taken. They are mild and gentle, yet sure in their action. I recommend them to all sufferers.

20, Ann-street, Bristol. WM. BALWELL.

THE BEST BLOOD REMEDY IN THE WORLD

They Cleanse the System from all Impurities

Sold by Chemists and Patent Medicine Venors at 1s 1½d, 2s 9d, 4s 6d; or send direct to Maker,

JACOB HUGHES,

MANUFACTURING CHEMIST, PENARTH,

Enclosing Stamps

Fig. 3.4. An Advertisement for Hughes' Blood Pills, 1894.[314]

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[312] Daniel J. Robinson, *Mail-Order Doctors and Market Research, 1890-1930* in Hartmut Berghoff, Philip Scranton, Uwe Spiekermann, *The Rise of Marketing and Market Research* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 76.

[313] *Cardiff Times*, 12 May 1894, p. 4.

[314] ibid., p. 4.

As well as publishing testimonies from high society and everyday people, a number of Cardiff druggists paid to publish testimonies from local doctors. During the 1860s, one particular Cardiff chemist, S. P. Kernick, regularly advertised his 'vegetable pills' in the *Cardiff Times*. In his advertisements, Kernick attempted to gain the trust of the public by promoting his goods under the recommendation of a trained medical physician.[315] One of Kernick's most frequently used advertisements featured a short testimony from a Cardiff doctor named Balbirnie. In Balbirnie's supposed statement, he praised Kernick's pills as 'the best Aperient pills for ordinary use'.[316] In his advertisement, Kernick utilised the respectability of a trained physician in order to add credibility to his products. Furthermore, Kernick's advert attempted to project a false sense of security over his potential customers by utilising the good reputations of medical physicians. Kernick also advertised Balbirnie's endorsement in order to capitalise on the 'perceived scientific authority' that he may have had as a medical doctor.[317] In taking this theory in to consideration, it may be suggested that Kernick's advertisement proclaimed to be the best possible alternative to being treated by a doctor. Furthermore, the re-assuring nature of this testimony would have been used to great effect, as many Victorians were very blissfully unaware of the problems their health could face. As Thomas Richards has noted, ordinary people were totally unaware of what 'could go wrong with their bodies', and thus, the Victorian medicine ad was like 'reading a medical encyclopaedia'.[318]

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[315] *Cardiff Times*, 4 December 1869, p. 2.

[316] *Cardiff Times*, 28 May 1898, p. 4.

[317] Robinson, *Rise of Marketing Research*, p. 76.

[318] Richards, *Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, p. 187.

Many drug proprietors called upon the power of the testimony for a number of reasons. It could be used to establish a target market and to exploit public fears of ill-health. Additionally, drug advertisers made sales points out of common illnesses and everyday ailments. An example of this can be found in several reports published by the *Cardiff Times* in the 1890s. As part of a larger advertisement for 'Dr Williams' Pink Pills', 'The Painful Experiences of a Cardiff Blacksmith' were explained to the public. In the advertisement, a local blacksmith named Henry Charles Morris testified in support of the efficacy of the 'Pink Pills'.[319] Like many other testimonies, Morris championed them as a 'miraculous cure' which healed his sciatica.[320] Prior to this information however, the advertisement attempted to emotionally capture the reader by noting the amount of work lost by Morris due to his sickness. This scare tactic was adopted in order to install a greater sense of urgency in to the reader. The advertisers behind this product attempted to utilise Morris' experiences to draw in customers who suffered from similar ailments. Also, the idea of lost work would have naturally triggered panic for many working families, as a loss in work meant a loss of earnings. Like many pill advertisers of the day, those behind Dr. Williams' promotion utilised scare tactics in order 'exploit people's hopes' and 'trade on their fear of disease and decline'.[321] Also, in using one of the more 'common afflictions' within society, this advertisement attempted to appeal to more than just the target market.[322] This promotional technique is somewhat different to others, in the sense that it is not

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[319] *Cardiff Times*, 14 January 1900, p. 7.

[320] ibid., p. 7.

[321] Davies, *Hope and Heartbreak*, p. 76.

[322] Barry Milligan, *Pleasures and Pains* (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1992), p. 22.

'canvassing every illness imaginable'.[323] The work of Mark Honigsbaum acknowledges this tactic and argues that advertisers often adjusted their promotions 'in accordance with whatever disease was likely to boost sales'.[324]

Unlike the advertisers behind Dr Williams' wares, many of Cardiff's drug advertisers promoted their pills and potions as panacea drugs. Plenty of Cardiff's druggists and chemists provided lists of diseases that their remedies claimed to cure. Cardiff chemist, Jacob Hughes, proclaimed that his drugs could strengthen the blood, and cure those suffering from 'dyspepsia, indigestion, wind and kidney troubles'.[325] Again, as Honigsbaum points out, from time to time these lists would lengthen and shorten in accordance with the 'season and prevailing epidemic'.[326] Sources suggest that local druggists and chemists tailored their advertisements around various outbreaks of disease. To cite an example. At the beginning of May 1882, the Cardiff Board of Guardians took to the papers to warn the public of an outbreak of small-pox in the area.[327] By the end of the month, John Munday's 'Effervescing Pomona Salt' was advertised in the *Western Mail* as a 'preventative of small-pox and scarlatina'.[328] This evidence allows the historian to understand that many medicine men were in touch with the news, and were very much aware of the epidemics that were so crucial to the success of their business. As Thomas Richards points out, this particular aspect of pill advertising provides an insight in to the attitudes of the druggists, chemists and patent

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[323] Richards, *Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, p. 187.

[324] Mark Honigsbaum, *A History of the Great Influenza Pandemics: Death, Panic and Hysteria, 1830-1920* (Gloucester: History Press, 2013), p. 161.

[325] *Cardiff Times*, 28 May 1898, p. 4.

[326] Honigsbaum, *A History of the Great Influenza Pandemics*, p. 161.

[327] *Cardiff Times*, 6 May 1882, p. 2.

[328] *Western Mail*, 18 May 1882, p. 3.

medicine men. Richards demonstrates that since the proprietor had no knowledge of 'exactly what ails his readers' he makes an effort to advertise a cure for every possible illness.[329]

The use of imagery was a selling point that proved to be a very powerful form of advertisement. Moreover, the detailed nature of a product's packaging became a vital 'component of a product's overall advertising effort'.[330] Roy Porter demonstrates that the 'attractive packaging' of the product, coupled with the hyperbolic testimonies, and various other offers, was another important factor in why the public bought proprietary medicines.[331] Cardiff chemist, John Munday, often advertised the packaging of his products. In an advertisement published in the *Cardiff and South Wales Whip*, John Munday took the opportunity to promote his product. 'Munday's Viridine' [see Fig. 3.5.] was promoted through a detailed facsimile of the product's packaging. Although over seventy percent of men and women could read by the 1870s, the imagery attached to many advertisements were vital in 'removing illiteracy as a barrier'.[332] Indeed, without any imagery, the illiterate could only rely on other people who could read the newspaper aloud.[333] This particular style of advertisement allowed Munday widen his target audience, so that he was able to apply his promotions to both the literate and illiterate. Additionally, the extravagant and intricate nature of Munday's advertisement

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[329] Richards, *Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, p. 187.

[330] John McDonough and Karen Egolf, *The Advertising Age Encyclopaedia of Advertising* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 470.

[331] Porter, *Disease, Medicine and Society in England*, p . 42.

[332] Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, *A Companion to the History of the Book* (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 2009), p. 293.; Robert Woods, *The Demography of England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 165; Roy Church 'Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth Century Britain', 633.

[333] Ibid., p. 293.

served as an indication of the competitive nature of drug advertisers in Cardiff. In order to produce this advertisement, Munday had to pay for the services of an illustrator, thus allowing competitors to further understand that advertising was not only a major priority for Munday, but also a financial gamble. Indeed, from the nature of this illustration Munday took advantage of the new technological pressing developments which 'heralded the appearance of advertisements potentially more powerful'.[334] It may be suggested that Munday also utilised promotional imagery in the same way as Thomas Holloway had done so - to serve as a reflection of his status.

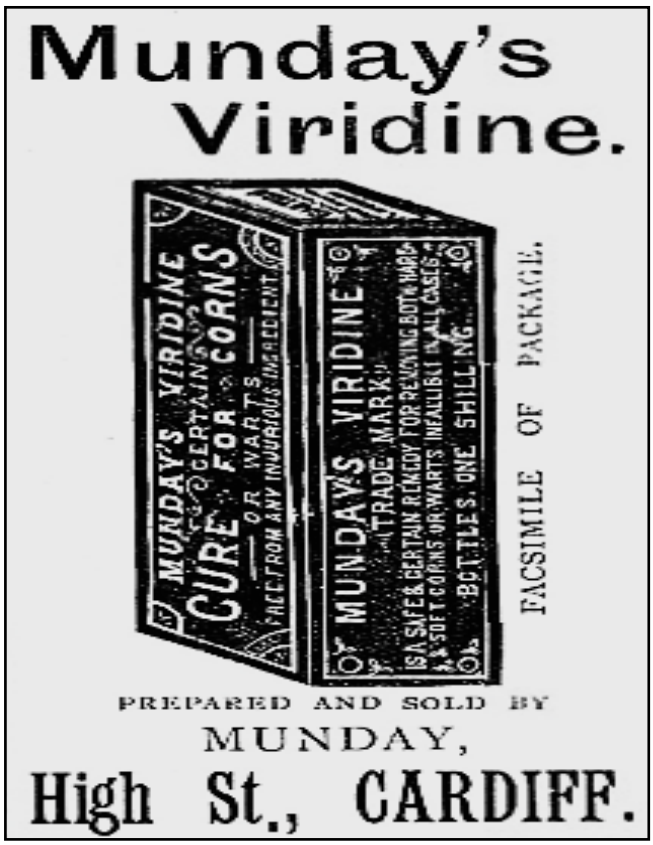

Fig. 3.5. An Advertisement for John Mundays's Viridine, 1888.[335]

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, pill manufacturers and their advertisements were condemned by a number of governing bodies within the medical

[334] Church, 'Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth Century Britain', 633.

[335] *Cardiff and South Wales Whip*, 6 November 1888, p. 15.

profession. Many physicians took to the *British Medical Journal*, which was said to have 'made its name' by 'unmasking' patent medicines.[336] The accounts recorded in the *Journal* criticised both the advertisements and ingredients of proprietary medicines. In the *Cardiff Times*, London-based physician George Hand-Smith published an account in criticism of patent medicines. In his report, Hand-Smith slandered the nostrums, labelling them 'worthless and poisonous'. Hand-Smith also challenged patent medicine manufacturers of Cardiff, daring them to submit their nostrums for chemical examination.[337] The methods of chemical examination were not made clear, but this was nevertheless a threat from Hand-Smith. As such, the publishing of these accounts were few and far between, and Mandy Bentham explains why. According to Bentham, many daily papers of the period had no interest in publishing these columns, as they were potentially harmful to newspaper sales.[338] To avoid criticism from physicians, drug proprietors like Tudor Williams made it clear that his goods were free of any harmful substances like mercury, opium, laudanum or morphia.[339] The extent to which this was true is unknown. It ought to be stressed, however, that it was common for medicine advertisers to lie about the ingredients of their pills and potions.[340] Virginia Berridge believes this to be just one of the 'many abuses of patent medicine sale and advertisement'.[341] Towards the end of the century, professional medical men of the region joined forces to make up the south Wales branch of the British Medical

[336] Stephen Lock, *Ashes to Ashes: The History of Smoking and Health* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), p. 127.

[337] *Cardiff Times*, 1 September 1888, p. 7.

[338] Bentham, *Politics of Drug Control*, p. 67.

[339] *South Wales Daily News*, 28 February 1882, p. 3.

[340] Berridge, *Public Health in History*, p. 67.

[341] ibid, p. 67.

Association. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the annual meetings for this branch were held at Cardiff's Infirmary under the watchful eye of local medic, Arthur Sheen.[342] At one meeting in particular, the medical men of the region were recorded to have discussed the deceitful nature of patent medicine advertisers. Their fervent opposition of proprietary medicines was made clear in a report published after a gathering in Swansea in 1893. At the meeting, the physicians criticised patent medicine proprietors, describing them as a 'minor plague' that took every opportunity to 'foist themselves' upon a 'credulous and unsuspecting public'.[343] Across the United Kingdom, the medical profession came to recognise proprietary medicine advertisements as a 'highly significant', but 'not exclusive form of quackery'.[344] The campaigns against patent medicines led to the passing of four acts of parliament between the years of 1887 and 1908. All four were passed in order to control the sales of patent pills, potions and elixirs.[345]

It can be argued that the condemnation of these advertisements was one way in which certain medical practitioners attempted to establish a kind of professional closure. However, certain areas of the medical profession did not condemn patent medicine advertisements. The Pharmaceutical Society did not distance themselves from the patent medicine advertisers, but more from those that were not qualified to sell them. The Society disagreed with the ways in which corner shops and other retailers were able to hand medicines 'over the counter without much scientific acumen or pharmaceutic

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[342] *Western Mail*, 27 June 1884, p. 4.

[343] *The Cambrian*, 10 February 1893, p. 5.

[344] Lori Loeb, *Doctors and Patients in Modern Britain* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), p. 407.

[345] Joan Lane, *A Social History of Medicine: Health, Healing and Disease in England, 1750-1950* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 166.

lore'.[346] Moreover, some pharmacy professionals believed that the sale of proprietary medicines should have 'only been in the hands of a chemist'.[347] Indeed, many of those professionally recognised by the Society were involved in the proprietary medicine market. Some, like John Munday, William Cross, Samuel Penrose-Kernick and Jacob Hughes promoted their pills potions as heavily and pervasively as any other patent medicine men. Munday in particular advertised his Insect Powder as a patented product.[348] Also, qualified Society members such as Kernick described his shop on St. John's Square as a 'Patent Medicine Warehouse'.[349] Indeed, the Pharmaceutical Society did not attempt thwart the sale of patent medicines because many of its members were patent holders. Additionally, selling proprietary medicines was a source of income for many of its members. As a way of attempting to separate themselves from their less-educated competitors, Society members such as William Cross and Francis W. Joy advertised their wares as those prepared by 'members of the Pharmaceutical Society by examination'.[350] It ought to be recognised that many chemists and druggists who operated under the banner of the Pharmaceutical Society were as guilty as the other patent medicine men. This of course, leads historians to again question the priorities of some professionals. While some, like the previously mentioned Robert Drane, exhibited positive pharmaceutical care, others, like William Cross, professed the miraculous and

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[346] *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, Series III, Vol XI, 1880-81, p. 290.

[347] Ibid., p. 831.

[348] *South Wales Daily News*, 4 July 1890, p. 4.

[349] *South Wales Daily News*, 26 July 1883, p. 4.

[350] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 3 January 1863, p. 4.

dubious 'magical relief' given off by his wares.[351] As such, the advertisements of many professional men were as ubiquitous and hyperbolic. Indeed, it has been argued that qualified druggists and chemists, much like patent medicine men, understood that heavy and 'systematic' advertising was 'a reliable route for fortune'.[352]

Remarkably, the Victorians consumed over a million pills per year towards the end of the nineteenth century, which was more than any other nation in Europe at that time.[353] It is fair to say that without advertising, this statistic would be nowhere near as phenomenal. As this chapter has shown, a number local medicine proprietors utilised a variety of advertisements, sales techniques, and even scare tactics to provoke the thoughts of the consumer. Their advertisements were amongst the driving forces that stimulated the transformation of the newspaper broadsheet. The influential advertising styles exhibited by the likes of Thomas Holloway proved extremely influential to the likes of John Munday, Samuel Kernick and Jacob Hughes. Like Holloway, many of Cardiff's pill makers attempted to reach wider audiences by offering a number of incentives to potential customers. As this study suggests, it is indeed a strong possibility that the revenue generated from medicine advertising helped finance the expansion of the Cardiff newspaper press. The promotion of proprietary medicines were vitally important, and as explained in this chapter, there is also a possibility that these advertisements influenced local newspapers proprietors to re-think their approach to charging advertisers. As historians have argued, the patent medicine men, druggists and

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[351] *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian, Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, 4 October 1873, p. 2.

[352] Stephen Lock, John M. Last, George Dunea (eds), *The Oxford Illustrated Companion to Medicine* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2001), p. 12.

[353] Lane, *A Social History of Medicine*, p. 166.

chemists took to the newspapers to advertise their wares, and somewhat ridicule the editors of the newspaper press. However, as shown, this was not the case in Cardiff. From this study it is clear that Cardiff's medicine advertisers were often guilty of both scare mongering, and playing on the ignorance of the consumer. The actions of pill makers and advertisers did not go unnoticed, however. This study has shown that there was fervent opposition in the region, and it came mainly in the form of the medical profession. As shown, though, many other medical professionals saw an opportunity in advertising their wares. Professional members of the Pharmaceutical Society aimed to control the sales of these medicines, as well as preparing and advertising their own. Indeed, the entrepreneurial traits shown by many chemists and druggists was nothing usual. As Roy Porter explained, every type of medicine man competed for 'custom, reward and recognition,' and to say this was untrue for druggists, chemists and patent medicine men in Cardiff would be spurious.[354]

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[354] Roy Porter, *Quacks, Fakers and Charlatans in English Medicine* (Gloucester: Tempus, 2001), p. 30.

CONCLUSION

The sources analysed and findings exhibited in this thesis have shown that Cardiff's medical retail market was extremely complex. As chapter one has shown, alternative and quack medicine vendors enjoyed much success in their fight to survive in the midsts of the slow professionalisation of pharmacy. Their efforts to remain trading were often destabilised by authorities who identified the sales of quack medicine as a moral issue. In their attempts to clean up the open air markets, authorities set out to tackle quackery by imposing bans on their trade, which as this dissertation has exhibited, was easier said than done. The authorities struggled to prove the so-called bad intentions of market vendors, which prolonged the battle against quackery. On the one hand this study has shown that many quack and alternative medicine vendors were caught in the act of attempting to deceive the public. On the other, this work has revealed that some were well respected members of society who were recognised in light of their philanthropic deeds and good relationships with the public. The cost-effective remedies prepared by quack and alternative medicine vendors were a selling point, which as this thesis has shown, proved deadly for some. The treatments available from these vendors were often preferred to those offered by medical practitioners, who were avoided for a number of reasons discussed in this analysis. As such these medicines dealers were as complex as the market they competed in. As chemists and druggists were slowly professionalising in Cardiff, quacks and alternative medicine vendors stood their ground. Their brutal, and sometimes violent competition served as a reflection of their lack of unity. This study has recognised that quacks and alternative medicine vendors were characterised as loners, who despite their various challenges, survived in the medical retail market.

Relying on statistics gathered from numerous volumes of the *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions*, the second chapter has shown that professionalisation in Cardiff was slow in comparison to other towns and cities. The research offered in chapter two has shown the Welsh town as a suitable example of how the overall process was not linear, and by no means inevitable. As both chapters one and two have revealed, the monopoly of the drug market was not solely controlled by professionals. The research findings discussed in the second chapter identified a number of obstacles that hampered professional growth in Cardiff. The inconsistent levels of instruction offered apprentices did nothing to improve the professional growth in the town. The urgency required to create a local society was seemingly missing too. This was something which caught unwanted attention from critics within the Pharmaceutical Society. As such, this lack of organisation quashed the chances of the Society recognising Cardiff as an area worthy of investment. Indeed, leading figures of the Society were given no such reason to invest their efforts in Cardiff until the end of the century when there were glimpses of organisation. The absence of educational facilities for chemists and druggists furthermore stunted any professional growth. Across the nation a number of pharmacy schools were opened in the wake of the Pharmaceutical Society's foundation. As recognised in chapter two, no such provisions were set up in Cardiff until the twentieth century. Within the slowly growing profession, some of Cardiff's chemists and druggists enjoyed success, and asserted themselves on the community by obtaining positions of power within local government. Some chemists and druggists entered markets outside of their remit. As chapter two has shown, druggists such as John Munday entered the market for cigars, elastic stockings and perfumes. Such evidence suggests that the control of monopoly was a priority for some. Despite this, some

appeared as zealous professionals who fervently opposed, and publicly criticised those unwilling to professionalise. The findings presented on certain chemists and druggists serve as reflections of how some approached their professional duties with responsibility and vigilance.

The third chapter examined the advertisements of proprietary medicines in the Cardiff and south Wales newspaper press. Some of the professional men examined in chapter two were at the heart of the investigation, but this time, for the ways in which they advertised their wares. The sources presented have shown that a range of marketing techniques were adopted by drug proprietors. While some resorted to slogan repetition as a way of marketing their products, others attempted to boost the reputability of their wares through endorsements from respectable local magistrates and medical doctors. This analysis also demonstrated how some capitalised on technological changes and advertised the facsimiles of their products in order to appeal to the literate and illiterate. These advertisements demonstrate that some recognised opportunities in marketing their wares around the seasonal epidemics. Perhaps more interestingly, some proprietors played on the fears of the public by advertising their goods as cures for diseases such as scarlet fever, a disease which was the most common cause of child mortality throughout the century.[355] The findings presented in this analysis have shown that a number of Cardiff's medical men publicly condemned medicine proprietors, which allowed this study to further examine the relationships between the medical professionals and drug proprietors. Crucially, the information featured in the chapter has illustrated the ways in which newspaper publishers capitalised on the expansion of

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[355] Virginia Berridge, 'Health and Medicine', from F. M. L. Thompson (ed), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950, Volume 3, Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 200.

advertising. The owners of the *Cardiff Times*, Duncan and Ward, were prepared to rearrange the layouts of their newspapers in order to accommodate these changes. Indeed, patent medicine advertising was a driving force that prompted the newspaper publishers to expand their business by investing in new printing facilities and extending their offices.

It is clear that without access to newspapers such as the *Cardiff Times*, *The Western Mail* and the *South Wales Daily Post*, a great part of the thesis would not have been possible. These resources have allowed this study to peer in to the past and examine a number of aspects in the history of medical retailing in Cardiff. The details provided in the newspapers have allowed this study to better understand how advertisers attempted to catch the attention of the reader, while also playing on their fears of ill health. The sources presented have also helped this investigation to grasp a wider knowledge of how local authorities approached the public disturbances, and how they attempted to thwart local nuisances. For some of the professionalised chemists and druggists, the newspapers appear to have acted as a vehicle to respectability by providing accounts of their philanthropic deeds, administrative promotions and involvement in masonic organisations. The invaluable accounts and incidents reported in the newspapers have also shed light on the buying habits of Cardiffians. The accounts recorded by the newspapers have provided insights in to what they were buying, where they were buying from and quite crucially, why they were spending their money on such products. The findings gathered form this source have also exhibited developments in the expansion of advertising and the changing nature of the local newspaper press. From the evidence provided, it is fair to suggest that by the end of the century, this public information platform transformed almost beyond recognition. The findings from the

Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions are priceless in value. The statistics provided by this source allowed this study to examine the growth of the pharmaceutical profession in Cardiff. Moreover, this resource provided further information on the professional growth across other areas of south Wales, which lends scope to a potential study on the growth of professional pharmacy across south Wales. This resource was also available in digital form. A number of records, including Robert Drane's papers were accessed at the Glamorgan Archives in Cardiff. Drane's papers have allowed this study to peer in to the past, and see life from the perspective of the chemist. Crucially, these documents provided a clear idea of how some approached their responsibilities as professionals.

Quite naturally, there were minor limitations to this study. The lack of business papers available on Duncan and Ward, owners of *Cardiff Times*, made it extremely difficult to estimate exactly how much revenue was generated from medicine advertisements. Therefore, there was great difficulty in assessing the extent to which the local newspapers benefitted from proprietary medicines. Furthermore, it is hoped that such papers would have also allowed this study to gain an understanding of how much drug proprietors were spending on their advertisements, which would have also helped this study to better understand the financial situations of certain chemists and druggists. Although this thesis has referred to the papers of Robert Drane, the business books of many of Cardiff-based chemists and druggists are almost certainly destroyed. Although Drane's papers have done much to demonstrate how some viewed their responsibilities as professionals, it was hoped that more readily available information would have provided this study with a greater understanding of professionalism from the viewpoint of the chemist and druggist. Additionally, it was also hoped that records of this kind

would have allowed the study to better illustrate exactly how successful some of Cardiff-based drug proprietors were.

The themes and topics discussed in this thesis have not only contributed to the wider Welsh medical historiography, but also to a number of informed works produced in the last fifty years. The studies featured in John Cule's *Wales and Medicine* and Anne Borsay's *Medicine in Wales* have introduced historians to snippets of medical history through two remarkable selections of essays.[356] The essays featured in these two books delve in to the social history of medicine and discuss topics such as public health, medicine, medical education, disease and death. As such, *Pills and Potions* has added to the investigations held within these works. The history of medical retailing in nineteenth century Wales in still somewhat underdeveloped. *Pills and Potions* has explored the medical retail market in nineteenth-century Cardiff, and shown that it was not solely made up of medical and pharmaceutical professionals. As well as providing a fresh insight into the popularity of quack and alternative medicine in Victorian Cardiff, this study has traced back the beginnings of professional pharmacy in the town. Chapter two's discussion of pharmaceutical professionalisation in Cardiff has ventured into previously uncharted territory, and provided several explanations as to why this area of medical professionalisation was slow to develop. Moreover, the second chapter also revealed vital information about the chemists and druggists within the medical retail market, and how their aspirations were sometimes worlds apart. As of yet, there has been no such study on pharmaceutical professionalisation in Wales. Indeed, it is hoped that this thesis will one day contribute towards a larger study of this topic.

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[356] For more details on the diverse medical history of Wales, see Anne Borsay, *Medicine in Wales c.1800-2000, Public Service or Private Commodity?* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003) and John Cule (ed), *Wales and Medicine* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1975).

The examinations undertaken in this thesis have also contributed to previous studies on quackery and alternative medicine. Whereas Roy Porter's works have studied quackery up until the mid-nineteenth century, this study has again travelled further afield in to a previously unexplored area of late nineteenth century Britain. This thesis has revealed that the demand for quack and alternative remedies was strong in the latter half of nineteenth-century Wales. While this thesis has focussed largely on those who dealt within the market, it does at times reveal information about those who purchased in the market. In many cases, as illustrated in chapter one, there was a reliance on alternative medicine. This thesis has also shown that for various reasons, townspeople occasionally preferred the services of quack and alternative medicine vendors over those offered by trained physicians. The research findings have shown that quack and alternative medicine vendors were truly unpredictable. While some were regarded as 'respected friends of the town' others were pilloried for being 'caught red handed' in the act of dispensing bogus remedies.[357] Most importantly, the findings presented in this study have formed the basis of a greater examination of quackery and alternative medicine in nineteenth century Wales - something that as of yet has not materialised.

The research findings presented in this dissertation have stressed the need for further scrutiny on this topic area. The professionalisation statistics presented for places such as Swansea and Carmarthen has allowed this study to provide a brief insight in to the rate of professionalisation outside of Cardiff. However, further study of these areas would also require an analysis of the obstacles that hampered professionalisation. Of course, in order for historians to better understand the professionalisation process on a national scale, studies of these places would be essential. Indeed, this investigation

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[357] *Cardiff Times*, 15 May 1863, p. 7; *South Wales Daily News*, 3 July 1878, p. 2.

could be undertaken as a piece of further academic research that would cover the whole of Wales. In doing this, the historian is then able to gauge the professionalisation process of pharmacy in Wales, and compare that to professionalisation in England, Scotland and Ireland. As well as providing scope for further study on professionalisation, this thesis has also briefly explored quackery outside of Cardiff. This subject area could also be explored more thoroughly, with an examination of the extent to which quackery was a national problem in Wales. This study would present a greater opportunity to further articulate the construction of quackery as a social issue. Additionally, further study on quackery were assess in detail the consequences of quackery, both from the public perspective and from the trader's perspective. A future study on quackery in Wales could assess, compare and contrast the popularity of quackery and quack medicines across urbanised and rural areas of the nation.

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